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LETTER LXVIII.

As I deſcribed Sympheropol on our former viſit, I have nothing to add to that deſcription here; but I am convinced that you would be much diſappointed were I to quit the laſt Tartar city of the Taurida (for Perecop rather belongs to the wilds of Scythia,) without giving you ſome account of the manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the inhabitants.

To begin, then, with the different nations in the Taurida. Although all the native inhabitants are included in the general name of Crim Tartars, and all ſpeak nearly the ſame language, ſtill there appears to be three different races of men even among the Tartars; and each to be diſtinctly marked by their features, independent of the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, &c. diſtinguiſhed by religion, manners, and every thing elſe, from the natives of Scythian origin.

For example: on entering the peninſula, you find in the ſtept, or deſert, the Hunniſh or Kalmouk face, diſtinguiſhed by high cheek bones; little oblique eyes ſunk into the head, which is large in proportion to the body; high ſhoulders; bad legs; ſwarthy complexion; black hair, with little or no beard; in ſhort, the frightful ſqueaking Huns of antient authors, who committed ſuch horrible ravages in Europe in old times, and compared with whom the

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the Goths, Vandals, &c. were civilized nations. Theſe people are then, very probably, a remnant of the Kozares who antiently poſſeſſed the Taurida, and whom all agree to have been of Hunniſh origin.

The ſecond race of men that ſeemed to me different from the Crim Tartars, we found in the mountains, with a full, round, and rather ruddy face, and ſtout well-made bodies; theſe, poſſibly, are the remains of the Goths who maintained a highland principality there till the Turkiſh conqueſt.

The third and laſt variety of the human ſpecies are the real Crim Tartars, who inhabit the vallies and other parts of the low country, and are diſtinguiſhed by a dark complexion and a rather longiſh face, with features much more reſembling the European than the frightful Calmouk; while their figure all together has nothing of deformity about it. However, I muſt once more remind you, that theſe obſervations are merely the reſult of my own remarks; ſo that I will not anſwer for other travellers ſeeing the natives in the ſame point of view; and you muſt likewiſe remember that I do not include under this head the Armenians, Greeks, Jews, &c. although naturalized in this peninſula for ages; as they ſtill preſerve their national religion, cuſtoms, &c. &c. and do not ſeem to have mixed their blood in any conſiderable degree with the Tartars.

Dress of the Crim Tartars.

The men wear the caftan, or long Eaſtern garb, over a ſhorter tunic, that ſerves for the waiſtcoat in uſe with the Turks, Perſians, Ruſſians, &c. tied round the middle by a ſaſh, or kouſak, the zona of the Ancients; with a pair of looſe drawers and boots; and

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and under all a ſhirt of coloured ſilk and cotton, commonly ſtriped, like the figures ſketched by Bruce (playing on harps) in the caves of Egyptian Thebes. Their arms conſiſt of a ſabre, dagger, and *piſtols*; ſometimes alſo a *gun:* modern inſtruments of deſtruction which have now ſupplanted the old Scythian bow.

As to the women's dreſs, it much reſembles that of the Turks; and indeed, if the Oriental and Byzantine authors be founded in aſſerting that the Turks and Tartars are the ſame people, the exact ſimilitude of the female garb will be eaſily believed and accounted for.

Houses.

The Tartar houſes are of one ſtory, conſtructed of ſtone, cemented together by a calcareous clay, and covered with tiles. Toward the ſtreet they have no windows; polygamy, and its natural conſequence, jealouſy, having turned the façade of Tauric dwellings to the inner court, where the women may breathe the freſh air through muſlin blinds.

LETTER

LETTER LXIX.

Manners of the Crim Tartars.

THE natives of this peninſula were much diſtinguiſhed for Oriental hoſpitality while under their Khans; and are ſtill ſo in proportion to their means.

So late as 1780 Mr. Keelman found Hans[143], or houſes of public entertainment for travellers, liberally maintained by the noble families on their eſtates; wherein you were moſt generouſly entertained, with your ſervant and horſes, without a ſhilling expence; nay even the han-keeper could not be prevailed on to receive a preſent for all his attentions.

On viſiting a Tartar, men are preſented with a pipe and a diſh of coffee; the firſt being a mark of particular courteſy, and even diſtinction, from a man of rank.

Their repaſts are very quickly diſpatched, although ſometimes compoſed of a number of diſhes; as a want of the exhilarating and ſocial juice of the grape renders the Tartar meals both ſhort and ſerious; for example, a dinner of 30 diſhes given us by one of their murſas, or chiefs, laſted but half an hour, and more reſembled a quaker's meeting than one of our convivial European treats.

Their cookery reſembles that of the antients, in *honey* being a favourite ingredient; but, inſtead of oil, a large proportion of

[143] Exactly the Hoſpitalia of the Antients.

butter

butter makes their diſhes as greaſy as ſweet, and inſipid to a European palate, accuſtomed to high-ſeaſoned food, which excites to drink what Mahomet has refuſed the faithful, and which is but poorly replaced by cooling beverages, compoſed of the juice of fruit and honey, the Poſca and Sera of the Antients. The gentlemen of the company did not ſeem much pleaſed with the Tauric regimen; and I muſt own, that even my ſtomach gave me ſome hints during the evening, that a glaſs of wine would have been a proper corrector of the Tartar ſherbet. Mahomet ſurely was not ſo well ſkilled in dietetics as in many other things, or he would have recommended the high-ſpiced food of the Orientals, which ſuperſedes the uſe of ſtrong liquors in the Eaſt, and renders pure water a ſufficient beverage for Bramins, Gentoos, &c.

After dinner, a diſh of coffee and a pipe are preſented as digeſters; and, after ſmoking ſome time, the maſter of the houſe takes leave of his gueſts to retire to his afternoon repoſe.

Marriages and Funerals.

The Oriental jealouſy which, as I remarked in my laſt, has turned the front of the Tauric houſes to the court-yard, inſtead of the ſtreet, and obliged the ladies to admire cattle inſtead of men from their muſlin windows, has done ſtill more than all that in this country; as it has likewiſe covered with a veil the face of the fair, and indeed almoſt every thing concerning them; ſo that all is myſtery here that relates to the ſex, ſhut up in a modern gynecceon, or haram, only acceſſible to their own lords and maſters, who are literally ſo in Mahometan ſtates, though we right chriſtian wives only call you ſo to laugh at your lordſhips.

Marriages, we are told, are made in heaven; and lucky it is that

 they

they are ſo ; for an inhabitant of the Taurida never ſees his bride till the nuptial torch is lighted up ; ſo that if it were not for the friendly miniſtry of a grave matron, or go between (the Pronuba of the Antients), who has the privilege of taking a peep at the bride, a man might marry the grandmother inſtead of the daughter.

When a lover has acquired, in this manner, intimation of a marriageable girl through the means of the privileged matron, he waits on the father (for the mother is as inviſible as the daughter), and bargains for his wife in the manner of the antients before the introduction of dowries, by offering a valuable conſideration, which is here commonly a cow, and a greater or leſs number of ſheep, according to the rank of the parties ; the iman, or prieſt, then marries the loving couple without further ceremony, and the huſband carries home his beauty on the faith and taſte of the Tauric Pronuba.

The new-married man entertains his companions and friends with pipes, coffee, and ſherbet, on the joyful occaſion ; but he takes care to do it *al freſco*, before the forbidden door of the houſe that contains his jealous care.

LETTER

LETTER LXX.

Burials.

If the living move along the ſtreets of this peninſula with Aſiatic ſtatelineſs and ſolemnity, the dead, on the contrary, are carried to the grave at ſuch a pace as would beat your London penny-poſt. This aſſertion is by no means jocular; for we actually ſaw the other day a party of Tartars ſcampering away with a corpſe at ſuch a rate, as obliged us ſtrangers, who wiſhed to ſee the ceremony, to take to our heels in a moſt indecent manner, to keep up with theſe Scythian pall-bearers. But how were we aſtoniſhed to find, that it was the neareſt relations of the deceaſed who were thus hurrying him to his long home, as if in fear of his recovery.

This extraordinary diſpatch, with which Mahometans are buried within 12 hours of their death, by expreſs order of their prophet, may have taken origin from the heat of the climate where he preached and legiſlated for his diſciples; and I think that the lotions, envelopes, and perfumes, which he commanded on theſe occaſions, ſeem to confirm the conjecture.

The coffin was covered with a plain ſtuff, and only ornamented, if it merited the name, with a bit of black ſilk, embroidered with holy paſſages from the Koran, thrown over one end of it; this, we

were aſſured, was a morſel of a conſecrated veil from Mecca, of great value and eſtimation in the eyes of true believers.

This funeral was neither accompanied by flambeaux, tapers, incenſe, nor church chanting; nor was a wet eye to be ſeen, or a groan to be heard; nay, even a mourning dreſs, the outward mark of grief with us, was compleatly wanting here; poſſibly from an idea of the happineſs of the deceaſed in his new ſociety of houries, promiſed by Mahomet.

We likewiſe obſerved, that no prayers were ſaid during the interment; but afterwards an iman ſat down on his hams by the ſide of the grave, and ſeemed to be offering up oriſons for the departed Muſſulman; a very proper time, in my opinion; as, the body being then covered with earth, neither the prieſt nor the company ran any riſk from putrid exhalations ariſing from the corpſe in ſuch a climate.

On quitting the ſubjects treated of in theſe laſt three letters, I muſt obſerve, that if Mahomet had no hand in the *veiled nuptials*, I give him credit for the reſt of the inſtitutions that we have as yet obſerved; and even thoſe may have been ſagely intended to make every girl equally partake of the advantages of holy wedlock, inſtead of adding, like you chriſtians, one misfortune to another, by condemning to the ſtate of old-maidiſm thoſe who may be deprived of external charms.

LETTER

LETTER LXXI.

Religion.

I MUST own, that the ſtriking ſimplicity of both the moſques (or metchets) and religious worſhip of the Crim Tartars pleaſed me much; probably from being a proteſtant; though it is poſſible that a greek, or catholic, might have been of a different opinion, on ſeeing their prieſts without ſacerdotal garments, and their temples without other ornaments than a few metal luſtres and ſmall lamps, merely to illuminate the edifice when deprived of the light of day.

Neither graven image, nor the likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth, are to be ſeen in their metchets (moſques), made by the hand of man; nay, this commandment is ſo ſtrictly obeyed by the diſciples of Mahomet, that they have even no painters among them; ſo that your Sir Joſhua Reynolds, if he had been born a Turk or Tartar, would have died without leaving behind him a ſingle portrait to immortalize his name; nor would his able ſucceſſor in the academic chair have ever diſplayed his powers in hiſtoric painting, had he been born a mahometan inſtead of a quaker. The whole furniture and fixtures, then, of a Tartar metchet are reduced to a few lamps, a little pulpit, and a niche in the wall on the ſide towards Mecca, to direct the bows of the faithful to that holy ſhrine; as you find there neither chairs nor benches; but all muſt

ſquat

ſquat down on the carpets or mats which cover the floor, without diſtinction of rank; as "all are equal in the ſight and temple of God," ſays Mahomet very wiſely.

"Five namas, or prayers, each day are neceſſary to be regarded!" a good Muſſulman announced from the top of the Minaret by a crier, inſtead of a bell, at ſtated hours; and each time the congregation muſt leave their ſlippers at the door of the moſque, that they may not defile the holy place, and alſo, perhaps, that they may not dirty the carpets which they are to ſit upon.

I ſhall finiſh the few remarks that I am able to make on the religion of the Tartars, with obſerving, that the ſagacious Mahomet ſeems to have compoſed the externals or ceremonies of his worſhip from thoſe of both Pagans and Chriſtians, probably to make them more agreeable to the mixed maſs of his diſciples. For example, he ſeems to have taken the number of his namas, or daily prayers; the mode of ſitting bare-foot on carpets, &c. from the religion of the Eaſt India Seeks[144], and ſomething from the Greek or oriental Chriſtian church.

Laſtly, I have to remark, that women are as little ſeen in moſques as any where elſe in the Taurida.

Administration of Justice.

Juſtice, while in the hands of the Tartars, was of ſo ſummary a kind, that little can be ſaid of it. Indeed, when we conſider that the whole Code of Laws ſacred and profane is contained in the Koran of Mahomet, it is eaſy to conceive that it could not be very complicated.

The proper magiſtrate adminiſtered juſtice on the ſpot; ſo that the contending parties were put to no expence to obtain it; nor alternately agitated by hopes and fears. Crimes likewiſe were im-

[144] See the Aſiatic Reſearches.

mediately

mediately and publicly puniſhed. A ſhopkeeper caught in the act of cheating with falſe or ſhort weights was nailed by the ear to his own ſhop-door, that the whole market might know the knave, and watch him in future; a puniſhment which ſet Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, the ordinary offenders in this country (for Turks and Tartars are very little given to cheating), much on their guard, as they had but little chance of eſcaping the vigilant police. Leſſer offences were inſtantly puniſhed with the baſtinado, and greater with the bow-ſtring, if a true believer; for a halter was the portion of an infidel; as they thought their old Scythian weapon diſhonoured by the neck of a Chriſtian or Jew.

All this is now, of courſe, changed, under the Ruſſian dominion; where ſeveral courts of juſtice ſupply the place of the Cady's market-tribunal. But it may be fairly remarked here, as in every country where complicated laws and forms exiſt, that, although deciſions may be made with more deliberation than formerly, yet the balance is often ſo long held in the hand of the judge, that the accuſed may grow *light* in the ſcale before his merits are weighed; and it frequently kicks the beam from that very circumſtance.

I ſhall now take leave of this honeſt and hoſpitable race of men; (although I may ſtill ſay a few words on their nomade brethren in our way home through the Tauric ſtept, or plain) with inſerting the price of proviſions during the reign of the Tartar Chans, as left us by Mr. Nicholas Keelman in 1769, and contraſting it with their value when we viſited the Taurida.

Price of Proviſions in Crim Tartary in 1769, *under the Tartar government.*

Bread, an ocka (23½ ounces, troy) 4 aſpers, or 1 d. Engliſh.
Butcher's Meat, an ocka, 2 paras, or 3½ d.
A Turkey, 7 paras, or 1 s. 0¾ d.
A full-grown Fowl, 3 paras, or 5¼ d.

Eggs,

Eggs, 20 or 30, according to the ſeaſon of the year, 1 para, or 1 ¼ d.
Butter, an ocka, 8 paras, or 1 s. 2 d.
Tauric Wine, an ocka of the beſt, 5 aſpers, or 1 ¼ d.

N. B. An aſper is an Engliſh farthing in value; a para equal to 1 ¼ d.

Price of Proviſions in 1795, *under the Ruſſian government*[145].

	Roubles.	*Copecks.*
An ocka of *Mutton* - - -	0	15
An ocka of *Butter* - - -	0	60
A Turkey - - - -	0	50
A Fowl - - - -	0	15
Ten Eggs - - - -	0	7
Wine, 16 bottles, from 1 rouble 50 copecks to -	3	0

N. B. A rouble was equal to 30 pence at the time here mentioned, varying with the exchange; 100 copecks are equal to a rouble, copper.

[145] By this comparative ſtatement, the price of proviſions ſeems to have been doubled under the Ruſſian government, from the vaſt depopulation of the peninſula, and conſequent want of cultivation.

LETTER

LETTER LXXII.

From the Tauric Stept, or Deſert.

WE ſet out from Sympheropol this morning, and bade adieu to the fine mountainous part of the Taurida, to launch once more into the Deſert that occupies the Northern half of the peninſula, from the river Salgir to the Golden Gate; a tract only calculated for paſtoral Tartars and their flocks; of courſe, we could not expect many intereſting objects in our this day's journey.

I have always obſerved, however, that when a traveller is reſolved to be pleaſed, and to draw ſome kind of amuſement from every thing, inſtead of getting out of humour at the more barren parts of a journey, he may commonly find ſomething or other worthy of his attention: and this was juſt our caſe; for we met with ſome ſtraggling Tartar villages in the ſtept, and ſome flocks of the ſmall lean Tauric ſheep ſo famous for their valuable furs and the ſweetneſs of their fleſh; but we obſerved that they were either black or ſpotted, compriſing but few of what is vulgarly called the *blue* colour, which brings ſo high a price for peliſſes, muffs, caps, &c. But what more particularly attracted our attention was, a real Scythian cart drawn by a couple of dromedaries.

This was a deep vehicle, mounted on two high ſtrong wheels, ſomething like an Engliſh baker's cart, lined firſt with ruſhes, and then with the ſame felt ſtuff with which the Tartar tents are made.

A covering of the ſame felt was laid over the top when we ſaw it paſs, poſſibly to conceal the women, who, we were told, had commonly travelled in that kind of equipage from time immemorial.

Independent of what we did ſee, you know that I derive a fund of amuſement from looking for what I very ſeldom find, viz. the ruins of the antient cities which once ſtood in the Taurida; and ſuch was my paſtime to-day in returning by the Eaſtern road along the coaſt of the Putrid Sea, for the ſake of variety; as we came into the peninſula by the Weſtern, along the coaſt of the Dead and Black Seas.

The Limen Zapra, as the Greeks called the Putrid Sea, ſeems to be a portion of the Sea of Aſoff, cut off from it by the gradual formation of a long narrow ſand-bank; at a very remote period, however, as it had the name of the peninſula of Zeno (Cherſoneſus Zenonis) in the time of the Antients.

This was the firſt object that drew my attention to-day in beginning our galloping hunt after antiquities, while the fleet Tartar horſes carried us briſkly forward; and I was not a little puzzled to conjecture how a Greek philoſopher could have left his name on a Tauric ſand-bank; till I recollected, that a ſon of the orator Zeno was made king of the Boſphorus by Marc Anthony; this ſolved the difficulty; and, as to the name of *Putrid* given to the lake thus cut off from the ſea of Aſoff, by the Cherſoneſus Zenonis, nothing can be more applicable; as, in fact, the narrow Straits of Jenitchi, at the end of the bar, being the only communication between them, the Putrid Sea is really nothing elſe than a ſtagnant pool, for want of ſufficient circulation; exhaling a dangerous miaſma during Summer, which has effectually prevented the founding of any modern city on its ſickly coaſt. Ptolemy, indeed, mentions a couple of antient cities in this diſtrict; but in ſo vague a manner, that we are left to our own conjectures relative to their poſition.

One of the two, *Tarona*, which Ortelius places to the S. E. of Perecop, and the Eaſt of the antient Satarcha, mentioned in a former

former letter, I will venture to ſuppoſe may have ſtood on the Solinoy Ozera, or Salt Lake of the Ruſſian maps; as a trade in that mineral, ſtill a capital article, might well maintain a city on its banks; for, to look for any thing above the rank of a paſtoral village in any other part of this ſide of the grazing plain, where there is not a ſource of commerce and wealth to ſupport a city, would ſhew great ignorance of the principle which has in all ages collected men into large municipal bodies.

As to the poſition of the other city of which Ptolemy ſpeaks, let ſome future traveller conjecture reſpecting its ſite, who can diſcover ſources of wealth hidden from the rapid ſurvey of Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXIII.

YOU certainly expect me to paſs the remainder of the Tauric deſert without finding any thing more worthy of remark; but there you are miſtaken; for, on the contrary, we found a new ſubject of attention very much in your own line of reſearch.

On ſtopping at a village, the hoſpitable Tartars brought us a wooden diſh of their favourite *koumis*, with a ſmall veſſel of brandy, both made from mares' milk, in defiance of the opinion of chemiſts, who formerly aſſerted, that an ardent ſpirit could not be drawn from *milk*, till they were taught the Tartar mode of diſtillation in the wilds of Scythia.

You will eaſily believe that I did not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of procuring information relative to the famous Tartar diſh ſo often the ſubject of converſation in Ruſſia; more particularly as I knew that it would be moſt acceptable to you; and you will judge of my ſucceſs on peruſing the following reſult of our inquiry.

Preparation of Koumis.

To any given quantity of warm Mares' Milk, the Crim Tartars add a ſixth part warm water of the ſame temperature, with a little old Koumis, ſour cows' milk, or a piece of ſour leaven of their rye-bread, as a ferment; and mix all together in a ſpecies of churn.

In the heat of Summer, very little agitation is requiſite to throw this mixture into fermentation; after which, nothing more is neceſſary than to break the thick ſcum that forms at top, and intimately mix it with the reſt of the fermenting maſs, by three or four ſtrokes of the churn-ſtaff ſeveral times repeated during the twenty-four hours that the proceſs laſts; for in one day and a night, during this hot ſeaſon, the koumis is ready; but, in Winter, artificial heat and more agitation are neceſſary to produce the vinous fermentation. In ſhort, the inſtructions that you gave for the preparation of our Ruſſian quaſs in the LXIXth Volume of the "Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of London," for the year 1778, are perfectly applicable to the Winter preparation of koumis, with the ſole exception of the difference in the ingredients.

The koumis has a ſouriſh ſweet taſte by no means unpleaſant to my palate, and greatly reſembling a preparation of milk which I remember eating very often in my viſit to Edinburgh ſome years ago[146].

[146] The Scotch preparation of milk to which Mrs. G. here alludes, is known in Edinburgh by the name of a village famous for it, called Corſtarfin; from which the diſh is named Corſtarfin Cream. Editor.

However,

However, I ſhould by no means chooſe to partake of their koumis out of the goat-ſkin *ſacks* in which the Tartars carry it on their nomade expeditions, as the Spaniards do their wine; which, by the by, is a practice ſo common in Spain, as to give the name of *Sack* to a ſpecies of ſweet wine once highly prized in Great Britain, if we are to judge from its being your Poet Laureat's aulic reward, and the favourite drink of your humourous glutton Falſtaff.

But, to return to our mares' milk. That fluid has been long known to yield an ardent ſpirit; but Pallas tells us, that he met in his travels a horde of Tartars who poſſeſſed the ſecret of throwing *cows' milk* into the vinous fermentation; or, in other words, of converting it into koumis, under the name of *Arien*, from which they drew an ardent ſpirit called Arika; a liquor that may probably have communicated its name to the well-known Eaſt India ſpirit Arrack; at leaſt, I hazard ſuch a conjecture with my uſual boldneſs, as I regard theſe Scythian arts as of high antiquity.

However, leſt you ſhould erect a ſtill in our dairy, in hopes of converting all our milk into cow brandy, permit me juſt to whiſper you, that the milk of this animal gives only one-ninth its quantity of ardent ſpirit, while the milk of mares gives one-third; a wonderful difference in œconomics, which you would do well to calculate before you begin your diſtillation, if you have ſpeculated on the ſubject; but indeed, whether you have or not, you never eſcape the jokes of your moſt dutiful ſpouſe, M. G.

LETTER

LETTER LXXIV.

As on entering the Taurida I ſaid every thing that ſuch a town as Perecop can merit from a traveller, I ſhall now only tell you, that we ſlept there laſt night, and left it this morning, to plunge a ſecond time into the Nogay deſert in our way back to Nicolayef on the Bog, our head-quarters for a time; indeed, till the roads ſhall be good enough for our return to Peterſburg.

In hopes of varying the monotonous ſcenery of a vaſt wild, we took a different route from what we purſued in coming, and croſſed the deſert towards the ſhore of the Dead Sea; to which I was the rather induced by a hope of ſeeing the ruins of ſome of the antient cities which the Greek and Roman geographers ſpeak of on that coaſt.

Our ſearch after ruins, however, was as fruitleſs here as it had often been in the Taurida which we have left; yet that did not deter me from marking the poſition of one of them in my Map, on the angle of the Sinus Carcinatis of the Antients; as we know that this city gave its name of Tamyraca to that gulph, before the Crim Tartars changed it a third time to the name that it ſtill bears, viz. the Gulph of Koreli.

How the antient cities ſaid to have formerly ſtood on this coaſt were ſupplied with freſh water, is a queſtion that we muſt naturally aſk, after having found neither rivers, rivulets, nor ſprings, in its whole extent; nay, we did not even ſee a trace of the deep wells which

which they muſt have dug to ſupply the want of them; although, indeed, they may have been filled up with ſand in a number of ages, and ſo compleatly levelled with the reſt of the plain as not to be now viſible.

Leaving then the fruitleſs ſearch of ruins, we found ſome entertainment in examining a number of ſculptured ſtones ſcattered over the deſerts to the Eaſt of the Dnieper.

They are ſtanding perpendicularly in the ground, bearing each the buſt of a man or woman tolerably ſculptured for Tartar workmanſhip; which there can be no doubt of their being, from the particular dreſs in which they are repreſented, and the marked features of the Calmouks, or Huns. But whether theſe rude monuments of antiquity (for the preſent race of Tartars know nothing about them,) were originally intended to diſtinguiſh the grave of a Scythian chief[147], or to mark the limits of his grazing ground, like the Roman *termini*, I will not take upon me to determine in my preſent inadequate knowledge of Tartar antiquities; although I have travelled over ſo much of their territory, and even taſted their koumis and mares' milk brandy.

We had now given over all hopes of drawing further amuſement from the Nogay deſert, and were hurrying on to the Boryſthenes, when we moſt unexpectedly ſpied a few Scythian tents, exactly the ſame to this day as deſcribed by Greek and Roman authors. To enable you to judge for yourſelf, however, I ſhall give you an exact deſcription of thoſe which we examined.

They were of a circular form, about four feet high and eight feet in diameter, covered firſt with ruſhes, and then with a very thick ſpecies of felt cloth, both outwardly and inwardly; ſo as to keep the inhabitants warm and dry in all weathers.

[147] See an Inquiry into the Origin of theſe rude Statues at the end of the volume. Appendix, No. III.

At

At the top is a round opening, out of which ariſes a flag-ſtaff and banner, to diſtinguiſh the horde; and, as the fire-place is in the center of the tent, the ſmoke iſſues from the ſame opening, and keeps the Tartar pendant in conſtant motion, even when there is no wind. However, a fire is never lighted in the banner-tents but in very cold weather; as there are others allotted to the purpoſe of cookery, &c.

The door, which is always covered with a ſtuff of the ſame colour as the banner, is ſo ſmall and low, that you can with difficulty get into theſe nomade tents, even to viſit a chief; and when you do, you find no other furniture than a bulruſh mat or carpet, a couple of felt mattraſſes ſpread on the ground, with a ſabre, bow and arrows hanging up on the ſide; and when the owner is able to add a gun and piſtol to his armory, he is moſt completely equipped for the ſpecies of irregular war that he occaſionally engages in. Theſe laſt-mentioned inſtruments of death are the only addition to the furniture of a Scythian tent ſince the days of Herodotus, who firſt mentioned them and their owners under the name of *Hamaxobitii*[148], or a people dwelling in tents drawn by horſes; as applicable to the Tartars of the preſent day, as to their anceſtors the Scythians; for the very tents that I have been deſcribing, called *Kabitkies*, are placed on carts of the ſame name, and drawn with their inhabitants from one grazing ground to another, as the difference of ſeaſon, or a want of paſture for their numerous flocks, demands a change of place. The women are kept in ſeparate tents pitched near thoſe of the men, and cloſely ſhut up from public view; ſo that we here found the haram or ſeraglio in its primitive form, which ſeems to have taken origin in the deſert.

The kitchen utenſils, as ſimple as the dreſs, manners, and food of theſe paſtoral wanderers, are kept in the female tents, and

[148] See Letter X.

conſiſt

conſiſt only of a large iron kettle, a ſmaller with a tripod, and a block of wood for the kitchen dreſſer.

When a horde are encamped together, as is commonly the caſe (for the party that we ſaw were only a ſmall detachment), they are under the command of their murſa, a kind of patriarchal chief, of much ſuperiour conſequence and authority to the petty leader to whom we paid our compliments from a motive of curioſity.

Nothing more attracted our attention till we arrived at Aleſky, a handſome village on the left bank of the Dnieper (much lower down than the town of Beriſlaf, where we croſſed that river in going to the Taurida), placed in a fertile ſpot, abounding in rich paſture; a fact of which the quality of the milk and butter that we met with here, would have convinced us, even if we had not ſeen the herd of fine cows that produced them. This village likewiſe furniſhed us with melons of an extraordinary ſize and flavour; but what moſt particularly excited our ſurpriſe was, the ſize of their millet ſeed, growing on ſtalks as thick as ſmall bamboos.

How much is it to be regretted, that ſo valuable a diſtrict ſhould imbibe the ſeeds of deſtruction to man, from the ſame cauſe to which it owes its fertility! for, the vernal overflowing of the Boryſthenes leaves here a vaſt quantity of vegetable and animal matter, which, though it greatly enriches the ſoil, exhales, during July and Auguſt, a dangerous marſh miaſma, which is, unfortunately, wafted to Cherſon by an Eaſt wind that reigns in thoſe months, and carries with it death and deſtruction to the inhabitants of that devoted city, now deſervedly abandoned for Nicolayef by the troops, &c. as explained in a former letter.

This and ſome other examples which I have obſerved in my travels evidently demonſtrate, that the overflowing of rivers in hot climates is either a curſe or a bleſſing to man, according to his indolence or induſtry; for, if this ſuperfluous water were wiſely conducted, by ſmall canals and other contrivances, to fertilize the ad-

joining country, inſtead of letting it form a dangerous moraſs in one ſpot, it would be as uſeful to man, as it is now deſtructive.

One moſt ſtriking illuſtration of this fact we have in the overflowing of the Nile; which, to the antient induſtrious Egyptians, was a ſource of wealth and health; while to the preſent ſlothful race it only brings yearly peſtilence ſince the antient canals and reſervoirs have been allowed to fill up. However, it muſt at the ſame time be acknowledged, that ſuch public works not only require the aid of government, and a number of hands, but likewiſe a more intelligent and laborious race of men than the preſent Tartar inhabitants; for no branch of rural œconomy demands more ſkill and attention than a well-regulated ſyſtem of irrigation [149].

But to continue our journey:—We embarked at Aleſky, where the Boryſthenes is magnificently wide, and rolls its majeſtic waves through a foreſt of ruſhes, peopled with ſuch a variety of waterfowl, that when diſturbed they darken the air. From thence we ſailed about 20 verſts up to Cherſon; and, in following the various turnings of the river, had every now and then a glimpſe of that city, which we preſently loſt again. This, occurring many times during our ſhort voyage, became a curious ſort of game at hide and ſeek, which had a fine effect, and agreeably beguiled the diſtance by flattering us ſeveral times with being at the end of our journey before we really arrived. In ſhort, my good friend, we ended our Tour (for the remainder of our route to Nicolayef you know already) with a moſt ſportive play of perſpective, which brought us, in good humour, to Cherſon; whence we ſhall ſet off to-morrow morning for our head-quarters on the Bog, and remain with the hoſpitable family of the Commander in Chief, till the roads permit my return to my own in St. Peterſburg, where I hope ſoon to ſhow all my friends with what health, ſpirits, and gaiety, an

[149] See a paper On the Philoſophy of Agriculture by the Editor of this Tour, printed in the additional Appendix to the Report on Manures by the Board of Agriculture.

invalid

invalid returns from the charming vallies of the Taurida, to embrace her anxious friends and relatives at home; and to convince you with how much ſincerity and attachment ſhe is your affectionate wife, MARIA GUTHRIE.

LETTER LXXV.

Nicolayef, on the Bog.

HERE, my good friend, am I caught in a manner that I never dreamed of, and compelled to winter in Nicolayef, as, from the mildneſs of the ſeaſon, there is no appearance either of the rivers being frozen, or the roads practicable in a ſledge; and as for my attempting the journey to Peterſburg in my poſt-coach *on wheels*, it is perfectly out of the queſtion; for the couriers who arrive in the light Kabitkies, or carts of the country, have much difficulty to reach us, after hair-breadth eſcapes on the intermediate rivers, filled with floating ice, which is formed in the North, though unable to unite, as uſual, in the South, for want of the accuſtomed degree of cold.

Patience, then, I muſt not only take to myſelf, but preach it to my family at home.

To make the moſt, therefore, of ſo cruel a diſappointment, I ſhall employ my leiſure hours till ſpring (when I can be retired from the company of the amiable family of the Admiral), in giving you a ſketch of the general hiſtory of the antient colonies on the

ſhores of the Euxine and Mæotis, to connect, and bring into one point of view, the detached and local hiſtories of ſuch of them as we viſited in our Tour; for, it muſt be acknowledged, that the whole were ſo intimately linked together by ties of blood, intercourſe, and commerce, that it is difficult to form a clear idea of a part, without a certain degree of acquaintance with the totality of the ſubject.

This, however, I ſhall enter upon in my next; as gratitude, reſpect, and even admiration, induce me to dedicate the remainder of the preſent letter to the charming family in which I live, and which nothing could engage me to wiſh to leave ſo ſoon, but the ardent deſire of a mother to ſee her children; for I will not ſay a word of my impatience to rejoin my huſband, as you men are already quite vain enough without ſuch declarations.

As to your moſt reſpectable old friend Admiral Mordwinoff, you know better than I can tell you the uprightneſs of his mind, and the ſuavity of his manners; but as your fair countrywoman, his lady, never accompanies her huſband to Peterſburg, although ſo well entitled in every reſpect to appear at court, ſome account of that intereſting fair-one I am ſure will be acceptable; and I will begin it by aſſuring you, that ſhe ſeems to have been intended by nature for the worthy Admiral, to whom by fortune ſhe has been united.

The entire pleaſure and happineſs of this ornament of her ſex ſeems to conſiſt in her fine family and domeſtic duties; for ſhe really appears above the little vanity of etiquette and precedency attached to her ſituation and rank, as wife of the Commander in Chief of the fleets on the Black Sea; behaving to every one with that noble ſimplicity of manner, and native unaffected politeneſs, which ever ſpring from a cultivated mind and ſound judgment.

The influence that the example of chiefs has on the manners and morals of a riſing colony, is finely illuſtrated at Nicolayef in many reſpects; but it ſtruck me moſt forcibly at the Admiral's public aſſemblies; where I obſerved, that every lady ſeemed to vie with

with her neighbour, who ſhould appear there with the greateſt neatneſs and ſimplicity of dreſs, to be in uniformity with the charming miſtreſs of the houſe, who always preſides in a plain linen or cotton gown, more ornamented by her native graces and diſtinguiſhed urbanity, than by all the ruinous finery ſo common every where elſe in Ruſſia, but which the example of this worthy couple has baniſhed from the ſettlement entruſted to their care, to the great relief of the inhabitants (moſtly in the ſervice of government), who are thereby enabled to live comfortably on their pay, although very inadequate to ſupport luxury at the end of the 18th century, however ample it may have been in the time of Peter I. the great founder of the military, naval, and civil eſtabliſhments.

There is one material want moſt evident in this new colony; and that is of ladies, if I may judge from the number of ſuitors for the hand of the young woman who left her attendance on our children to accompany me in my journey.

The amiable Lady Mordwinof, who is ſo much above all petty prejudices, having inſiſted on her dining at table, ſhe was courted alternately by three officers, and married the laſt who entered the liſts (I verily believe) becauſe he was an Engliſhman, as ſhe had a liking to your country, and ſpoke the language.

Thus you ſee, my good friend, that the liberality of mind of my fair hoſteſs, and the ſcarcity of females in Nicolayef, has left me to return alone to St. Peterſburg, if I can find no one to ſupply the place of Mrs. Young, for that is her new name; but, inſtead of being offended at Cupid for playing me ſuch a trick, I am, on the contrary, thankful that he did not draw his bow before my Tour to the Taurida; and I conſole myſelf with contemplating the happineſs of the young couple.

Do not, however, be alarmed at the idea of my travelling unattended, as the Admiral has appointed an officer, a ſerjeant, and a ſoldier, to ſee me ſafe to my own houſe; ſo that only a female is wanting; and, if I can do no better, I ſhall take with me a ſailor's wife, who now acts as waiting-woman to Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LXXVI.

I SHALL now begin my purpoſed hiſtorical ſketch of the Greek and Roman colonies, &c. founded on the ſhores of the Euxine and Mæotis.

We are told, that on the fall of Troy [150] the reſtleſs Grecian chiefs diſperſed in queſt of new exploits; Menelaüs to Phænicia and Egypt; Diomede to the Adriatic; and ſo on. But the hero whoſe adventures relate to my ſubject, and with whom alone I have any thing to do, was Neoptolemus (ſon of Achilles), who ſailed with his Theſſalians into the Euxine or Black Sea, and made his firſt landing at the mouth of the Danube, known to the Greeks 70 years before by the flight of Jaſon, who took that road with the daughter and treaſure of the unhappy King of Colchis, who was robbed of both by the Argonauts ſo famous in antient hiſtory for this piratical expedition; nay, ſome of theſe lawleſs adventurers were even deified for the nefarious exploit, which certainly, in a political point of view, ſetting aſide the moral turpitude of the action, was of infinite national importance to Greece; as the diſcovery of the rich countries on the ſhores of the Black Sea opened a new and vaſt field for commerce and colonization, to bold and enterpriſing maritime ſtates; although they clothed the great event in the dreſs of fable, according to their uſual cuſtom in all ſuch

[150] In ſpite of every argument brought to prove the non-exiſtence of the ſiege of Troy, in the very ingenious work of the learned Preſident of the Antiquarian Society of London, the Grecian chiefs evidently ſeem to have been aſſembled about that time on ſome expedition.

caſes;

caſes; and it muſt be remarked, that the mode of collecting the gold-duſt waſhed down from the Caucaſus by mountain torrents, as ſtill practiſed in the antient Colchis, greatly favoured the Grecian taſte for apologue; as the woolly ſheep-ſkins, ſunk in the rivers to collect the glittering treaſure, are by no means unlike *a golden fleece* when drawn out of the water all beſpangled with particles of that precious metal.

This expedition, then, of Neoptolemus, with which I begin my ſubject, ſeems to have been the firſt attempt to turn to national advantage the Argonautic diſcoveries; as we find him immediately beginning a ſyſtem of colonization, by driving a Scythian horde, highly celebrated by Strabo for innocence and gentleneſs of manners, from their lands at the mouth of the Iſter, or Danube, and obliging them to take refuge in the iſland of *Peuce*, ſurrounded by two of the branches or mouths of that noble river.

On the ſpot thus obtained by cruelty and violence, he formed the ſettlement of *Tomé* [151], afterwards ſo famous for the exile of Ovid; and thence proceeded to the Tyras, now the river Dnieſter; at the mouth of which he erected a tower bearing his own name, probably as a mark of poſſeſſion, as the moderns plant a croſs or flag on a newly-diſcovered iſland; and there left a ſmall colony which he called Hermonaſſa.

Neoptolemus next proceeded to the neck of land where the Ruſſian fort of Kinburn now ſtands. There he built a mauſoleum [152] ſurrounded by a ſacred wood, and celebrated equeſtrian games to the manes of his father; which occaſioned the ſpot to be ever after called by the antients Dromos Achilleos [153], or the Courſe of Achilles; indeed that antique appellation ſeems to be ſtill preſerved in the Turkiſh name of the place; for Kill, or Achill-

[151] Strabo tells us, in his 7th book, that Achilles was worſhipped amongſt the Getes; "and on the Danube," adds Dion Chryſoſtom in his 36th oration.

[152] Rather a cataphalcus.

[153] Strabo tells us, in his 7th book, p. 472, that Achilles had a ſtatue, temple, and ſtadium on the Boryſthenes; the laſt he calls Δρομος Αχιλλεως.

bourn,

bourn, means the Cape or Promontory of Achilles. Here ended expedition of Neoptolemus.

[154] The next fleet of adventurers that entered the Euxine, appear to have been the Cariens, or Mileſians [155], from

[156] the city of Miletus in Caria; a people who ſeem originally to have been what the Greeks called Barbarians (an appellation which they proudly beſtowed on every one not of Grecian origin), although they were early incorporated with them in their military exploits, from being the Swiſs, or ſoldiers of fortune, of that period; ever ready to hire themſelves out to the belligerent powers, or even to co-operate at their own expence where rich plunder was the prize; like the Ruſſian Coſſaks, Baſkeers, &c. to this day; inſomuch that they were even ſaid to have given origin to the word *Miles*, a ſoldier. Theſe profeſſional warriors ſoon vanquiſhed the feeble fleet of the Chaldeans, or Chalybs, the ſole pro-

[154] The temple of Apollo Didymenos of Milet, burned by Xerxes; with his ſtatue, and two men with lighted brands in the act of firing it.

[155] As the Editor conſidered the Greek colonies on the Euxine as very imperfectly known to the Public at large, he thought that giving ſketches of autonamate coins ſtruck by the principal cities mentioned in this Tour, when they were free and independent Greek towns, might have a good effect in convincing ſceptical readers not only of the exiſtence of ſuch colonies, but even of their antient conſequence; for which reaſon only three Imperial medals will be found in the whole number; that is to ſay, coins ſtruck by them after being conquered by the Romans; and, as moſt of thoſe colonies were planted by the Mileſians, a couple of fine medals of the mother country (viz. the city of Miletus in Caria) are given, to begin with, from Pellerin, as are moſt of the others. More on this ſubject will be found in Letter LXXXV.

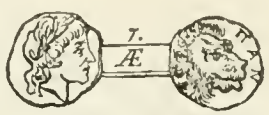
[156] Obverſe, the Didymen Apollo.——Reverſe, the proper arms or emblem of Milet, with the inſcription Mileſi.

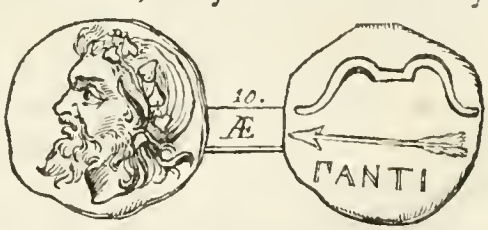
tection

tection of the Southern coaſt of the Euxine, and founded ſeveral colonies in Aſia Minor; ſuch as Trapezus, Hermonaſſa, Ceraſus, Iſcopolis, &c. but above all Sinope and Heraclea, the capitals of their ſettlements in Paphlagonia and Bythinia, with which they probably began their ſyſtem of colonization, as being neareſt at hand, and extended it gradually Eaſtward along the coaſt, as far as Trapezus, or, as it is now called, Trebiſond.

It was not long before they diſcovered likewiſe the oppoſite coaſt of the Taurida, by the ſhipwreck thereon of Oreſtes, and his ſubſequent eſcape, with his ſiſter, from the bloody temple of Diana; for they availed themſelves of his knowledge of the country, to ſend him, at the head of a colony from the Greek ſettlement of Heraclea in Bythinia, which founded the city of Cherſon in a ſmall peninſula, that they named, in honour of the mother colony, *Cherſones Heraclea*, cloſe by the temple of the Tauric goddeſs; and revenged on the cruel inhabitants their leader Oreſtes, who had ſo nearly been ſacrificed on her altar.

They now extended their ſettlements along the Tauric coaſt, as far as the Cimmerian Boſphorus; building, in ſucceſſion, the cities of Theodocia and Panticapeos; then, paſſing the Straits, they founded the city of Phanagoria on the iſland of that name, and ran up their poſts along the Aſiatic ſhore of the Mæotis, as far as their great northern mart Tanais, or Aſoff, which they built on the Don (then the river Tanais); with Alopecia, on an iſland at its mouth; and the other intermediate cities mentioned in the Tour, and laid down on the MAP that accompanies it.





Beſide all theſe ſettlements in the Taurida, and on the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus, it ſeems to have been the ſame commercial Carians, or Mileſians, who reaped all the fruits of Neoptolemus's expedition to the Iſter, Tyras, &c.; for we hear no more of either

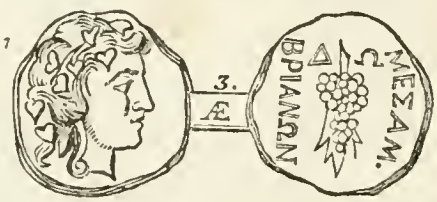
him or his colony; while we know that all the trading cities on the Dnieſter and Dnieper were built by the Mileſians; ſuch as Oſiuſa, Niconia, and Tyras, on the firſt of theſe rivers; with the city of Olbio, or The Happy, on the ſecond, the great mart for Scythian, as Tanais on the Don was for Sarmatian barter.

LETTER LXXVII.

To finiſh the hiſtory of the Mileſian colonies on the Euxine, without interrupting the narration with the eſtabliſhments made by others, I ſhall now follow them to the Weſt coaſt of the Black Sea; although in ſo doing, for the ſake of perſpicuity, I ſhall be guilty of a great anachroniſm; as the colonies of the Cuban and the Caucaſus were certainly planted by the other Grecian ſtates, before the Mileſian ſettlement of Heraclea in Aſia Minor had had time to multiply to ſuch a degree, as to ſend forth two ſucceſſive detachments.

When the colony of Heraclea had ſo much increaſed in population, as to be ready for a ſecond emigration, after ſending out the Tauric colony mentioned above, they directed their courſe to the Weſt coaſt of the Euxine, as the only remaining ſhore of this ſea that offered a chance for a new ſettlement; and even that was already occupied in its whole extent, except a ſingle ſpot (which will be mentioned toward the end of this Letter), moſtly by their own

own countrymen the Mileſians, directly from the mother country, who ſeem to have rivalled even the Phœnicians in a daring ſpirit of mercantile adventure. We muſt now take a ſurvey of the Weſt coaſt at the time when the Heraclean colony arrived there.



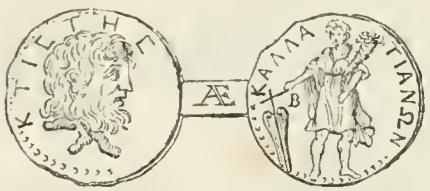
Tomé and Iſtria toward the mouth of the Danube, thirty-one miles diſtant from each other, belonged to the Carians (both reduced to inſignificant places in the time of Strabo); and the ſame people had likewiſe founded the two cities of Crulii and Odeſſa a little farther to the South, and bordering on the ſettlements of Naulocus and Meſembria, founded by the Megarians. Then again, the Mileſian colonies occupied the coaſt to the Southward of Mount Hemus, where ſtood their ſtrong fortified city of Apollonias, built partly on an iſland, partly on the continent, and noted for both its fort and arſenal; while its temple of Apollo, and its celebrated ſtatue of that god, made it famous through all Greece, till that fine piece of antient ſculpture was carried to Rome by Lucullus, on the Roman conqueſt of the country.

The reſt of the coaſt down to Byzantium, now Conſtantinople, was moſtly occupied by the Tynian Thracians, maſters of the cities of Thinopolis, Andrea, and Salmideſſa; while the remainder was a dangerous rocky ſhore, without a ſingle port to take refuge in; indeed, all navigators ſtrove to keep at a diſtance from it; as either

[157] A branch of the Vine on the reverſe of Meſembria ſhows either that it was famous for wine, or that Bacchus, whoſe head is repreſented on the obverſe, was worſhipped there.

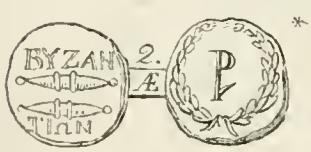
death, or, what was ſtill worſe, Thracian ſlavery, awaited the unhappy ſeamen who reached the inhoſpitable land[158].

After this ſurvey of the Weſt coaſt of the Euxine, from the Danube down to Byzantium, it becomes evident that the Heraclean colony had no great choice of place; and, in fact, they only found one ſpot vacant a little to the South of Tomé, in beginning their ſurvey; which probably had been left unoccupied on account of the dangerous nature of the place; as the city of Callatiæ, which they built there, was ſoon after demoliſhed by the ſame earthquake which ſwallowed up nearly half the city and port of Byzon, another Grecian ſettlement on this ſhore.



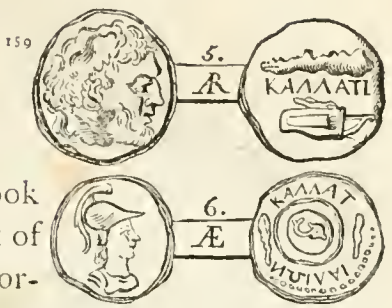
So tragic an end of their new eſtabliſhment obliged them to ſteer their courſe home again; but, as probably the ſame cauſe which had made them emigrate ſtill exiſted in Heraclea, and preſented a

[158] Byzantium was originally founded by the Megarians 722 years before Chriſt, and rebuilt by the Mileſians on account of its fine ſecure port, and its favourable ſituation to command the Thracian Boſphorus; which afterwards cauſed its alliance to be courted both by Sparta and Athens; though the laſt ſucceeded, on account of its great commerce and naval power, which enabled it to hold in ſubjection moſt of the iſlands in the Ægean Sea, from Attica all the way up to Byzantium, and to have a chain of colonies or factories upon them, extending even through theſe Straits, and along the coaſt of Aſia Minor on the Euxine, down to the city of Amiſus, which they beautified; and I ſuſpect that the city of Athenæ (now Athenah), much farther down the coaſt, was built and named by them after their Attic capital. The city of Byzantium was noble and ſpacious, enjoying a popular government, with fine public buildings, a ſtrong fort, gymnaſium, &c. &c. It owed its great opulence to a lucrative fiſhery, and a duty on all ſhips paſſing to and from the Euxine, like Denmark at preſent with regard to the Baltic; beſides the great profit that it drew from all the paſſing ſhips ſpending money there, and afterwards leaving goods for ſale, inſtead of carrying them to the Euxine markets, when the ſeaſon was not favourable for navigating that dangerous Sea. — Its ſalt fiſh was famous all over Greece.



* As the fiſhery of the Pelamides was a great object to the inhabitants of Byzantium, it would ſeem, from the fiſh-hook in a laurel crown, that rewards were given to expert fiſhers.

valid



valid reaſon againſt their re-entering the ſettlement, they found themſelves obliged to turn their force againſt the adjacent country of Paphlagonia, inhabited by the Cauconi and Heneti, of which they took poſſeſſion without much oppoſition; moſt of the able-bodied men being ſoldiers of fortune, who ſerved any State that choſe to employ them, and were then abſent on a diſtant expedition; ſo that they ſeized on the remaining part of the province exactly in the ſame manner that their anceſtors had ſeized on the firſt portion of it, when they founded Sinope and the other Mileſian cities on this coaſt; that is to ſay, in the abſence of its natural defenders the Heneti (then famous as cavalry, and for the firſt breed of mules known to antiquity), who, having followed their King Pylemenus to defend Troy, when ſummoned by old Priam, for the moſt part fell there with their valiant ſovereign, and left their country an eaſy conqueſt to the enterpriſing Carians; exactly as in the caſe I am ſpeaking of, when their deſcendants obtained poſſeſſion of the remaining lands of the devoted Paphlagonia.

[159] It is worthy of remark, that the head of Hercules on the obverſe, and his club on the reverſe, of theſe rare medals of this ſhort-lived unfortunate city, points out its origin from Heraclea (being founded, according to the Grecian fable, by that demi-god), independent of the Greek inſcription round his head in Fig. 6.

LETTER

LETTER LXXVIII.

WHILE yet the rage of forming ſettlements on the ſhores of the Euxine obtained in Greece, a colony of Acheans eſtabliſhed themſelves on the coaſt of the Cuban, to the Eaſt of Phanagoria; nay, one even from Lacedemonia, the leaſt mercantile of all the Grecian ſtates, took poſſeſſion of the remaining part of the ſea ſhore between the Acheans and the famous kingdom of Colchis, giving themſelves the name of Henioches, or coachmen, in honour of Recas and Amphiſtrates, charioteers of the Argonaut heroes, the two Dioſcures; and even called their capital Dioſcurus; the very city afterwards ſo celebrated (under the name of Sebaſtapolis) as a great mercantile emporium up to the Middle Ages.

Theſe firſt ſettlers, however, ſeem to have had no hand in carrying on the extended and honourable commerce which in time rendered this country the admiration of the world, as I ſhall afterwards ſhow, in treating of the Euxine trade; but, on the contrary, the Acheans and Henochi were ſo far from cultivating honeſt trade, that they even joined with their neighbours, the Zigi, in acts of piracy, and helped to form a fleet which was long the terror of the Euxine under the antient and general name of Pelaſgi; from whom neither merchant ſhips on the ſea, nor the defenceleſs ſettlements on the ſhores, were in ſafety, till they at laſt taught the inhabitants of the Euxine to fortify their ports, and the commercial nations to create

create a marine to protect their trade, which in time put an end to their depredations.

The colonies ſettled on the coaſt of the Cuban, when driven from maritime piracy, ſeem to have taken to plundering on land, as we ſhortly after find the Greek colony of Pitiuntus Magnus, ſituated a little to the Weſt of Dioſcurus, building the famous Validus Murus acroſs a valley, to ſecure themſelves againſt theſe lawleſs robbers; but to little purpoſe, as they found means to ſcale the coſtly wall, and deſtroy that rich and flouriſhing ſettlement; it was afterwards, indeed, rebuilt by the great Mithridates, when he became maſter of theſe countries; but a ſecond time ravaged by the Goths while in the poſſeſſion of the Romans, the conquerors of that Aſiatic hero. It began the attacks of the Goths by ſea on the Roman empire, which they afterwards directed againſt Trebiſond, Bythinia, Greece, and Italy, in large fleets from the Taurida.

But, of all the Greek ſettlements on the Euxine, thoſe in the rich kingdom of Colchis certainly took the lead; not ſo much, however, for the gold collected in its rivers, as for the lucrative Indian trade which then flowed in that channel, as will be ſoon ſhown on the ſubject of commerce.

The Greeks founded ſeveral cities in Colchis, eſpecially on the noble river Phaſis (ſo famous in the antient Argonaut fable), which divides the kingdom into halves. The principal of theſe was Sarapanis, built about 80 verſts up the Phaſis, where the river begins to be navigable for ſhips of burthen coming down to the Euxine; and it was there that they placed the emporium of their Indian commerce, and that their veſſels went up to load the rich produce of the Eaſt.

Iberia is a ſtriking example of the happy effect that commerce has on the opulence of a country; as the Indian trade, by only paſſing through it on its way to the Grecian emporium on the Phaſis, mentioned above, not only rendered it one of the beſt cultivated countries of Aſia, but even crowded it with cities built of ſtone, and covered

covered with tiles, containing temples and other public edifices, as the Greek writers aſſure us; nay, they add, that even the adjoining country of Albany was almoſt equally benefited by the Indian trade having been carried on for ages by the ſame route, long before any Grecian colony was founded in Colchis; a curious fact, which explains the cauſe of the riches of that antient kingdom when the firſt Grecian adventurers arrived there.

Strabo tells us, that the people of the country of which I am now treating, were divided into caſts, like the Indians; and gives us much curious information relative to this part of the world; but if I were to indulge in quoting from claſſic authors, in this and ſeveral other parts of my rapid glance at the Euxine colonies, (more eſpecially in the antient Pontus and on the coaſt of Aſia Minor in general,) I ſhould at leaſt add another volume to the Tour of

Your's, &c.

LETTER LXXIX.

ALTHOUGH I would not follow Strabo through all his curious remarks on the countries ſituated among the Caucaſian mountains; yet I ſhall give him as my authority for ſaying, that a number of Greek cities ſtill exiſted in his time on the river Cyrus (now Cur, or Kur) all the way down to the Caſpian; probably different ſtations for the boats and merchandize on their way up from that ſea; and we know, from the example of Palmyra, that even the paſſage of the India goods ſupported populous cities of old.

But

But to return once more to the Phaſis. With regard to the other Greek cities on this central river, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pomponius Mela, tell us, that the town of *Phaſis* placed on its South bank, near to its mouth, was the moſt conſiderable of all; and, in fact, it became the capital of Colchis during the Greek reign in that country. This city is ſuppoſed to have been founded by Themiſtagorus, and to have contained the temple of Phryxus, and the bower of the golden fleece; and is ſtill called Phaſhe by the Turks (who keep it garriſoned by Janiſaries), an evident corruption of its antient name; or, rather, a modification of it to their pronunciation.

Another Greek city on the ſame ſide of the river was *Circeum*, now the ruined fort of Irke; both commercial places in antient times; more eſpecially the firſt; for Arrian ſpeaks very highly of the opulence and trade of Phaſis in his Tour of the Euxine ſo often quoted in mine.

A third celebrated city of antiquity ſituated near the mouth of this river (or rather a fourth, as the Greek Emporium Sarapanis muſt be counted here, though mentioned in a former letter), was *Æa*, the reſidence and capital of the unhappy King of Colchis, who was the victim of the Argonautic expedition.

Arrian tells us, that in his time the inhabitants of this city ſhowed part of a ſtone anchor which had been left there by Jaſon.

The remaining towns on the Phaſis were, the Tyndaride and the Cygnus of Pliny; the firſt now Pandary; the ſecond, probably, no longer exiſts.

They likewiſe poſſeſſed Cyta, the birth-place of Medea, now Cutatis, the capital of Turkiſh Georgia, ſituated on the Rhoas of Pliny, or the river Rione of the Turks.

The original inhabitants of Colchis ſeem to have been, as they themſelves aſſerted, of Egyptian extraction [160]; at leaſt if we may judge

[160] We are told by antient authors, (and even the ſceptic Mr. Jacob Bryant, in his learned attack on the ſiege of Troy, cites the hiſtorical fact) that the Egyptians at an early period had the

463190

judge from certain circumſtances to be mentioned in the article of their commerce, and the forcible argument of Herodotus, that they were, of all the numerous nations of Caucaſus, the only people who practiſed circumciſion.

I have now enumerated all the Greek colonies on the ſhores of the Euxine, and ſuch cities as were commercial; for to give an account of the whole would be a voluminous work of itſelf. I mean, therefore, to appropriate the remainder of this Letter to a few remarks on the intereſting mountains of Caucaſus, (where I chanced to finiſh my little ſketch of the Grecian reign in the Euxine) as one of the moſt curious chains in the world, running from near the river Cuban to the Caſpian ſea, and preſenting both to the natural hiſtorian and the philoſopher very intereſting phenomena.

The firſt that it falls into the nature of my plan to take notice of here, are ſome curious cuſtoms of the celebrated Circaſſians, more eſpecially as they inhabit that part of the Caucaſus which was antiently the country of the Amazons, and may therefore ſerve to throw ſome light on the antient fables concerning that nation of warlike ladies; for, in fact, to this day, a traveller finds there the women living ſeparately from the men, to all appearance at leaſt; and as, even in modern battles between the different Caucaſian nations, theſe inſulated viragoes have been found among the ſlain completely clad in armour (See Mr. Ellis's Memoir accompanying his Map of theſe mountains), a ſtranger, with but a little turn to the marvellous in his diſpoſition, might ſtill imagine that he had diſcovered a community of warlike females, dwelling diſtinct from the men, and only admitting their viſits to prevent the total extinction of their Amazon ſtate; for in reality all this appears on the face of the caſe, and requires the following explanation to induce a different opinion of the whole.

empire of the ſea, and conquered many of the Greek iſlands, with a part of the coaſt of Aſia Minor; ſo that it is very poſſible they may have then planted a colony in Colchis, as they certainly did in Greece.

Firſt,

Firſt, by an old eſtabliſhed cuſtom among the Circaſſians, the men ſteal in like midnight thieves to cohabit with their wives, who live perfectly alone and ſeparated from the men, without even a male child under their care; while it is a great diſgrace to the men to be caught, or even ſeen, on ſuch viſits.

Secondly, every boy is removed from his mother as ſoon as born, to be educated ſolely by the men, in order to his becoming a bold ſoldier, and an expert thief; which here, as in antient Sparta, is a high qualification; and to be detected in the act, a great ſhame.

Now I cannot help thinking, that any traveller, conſidering with attention theſe *cuſtoms*, ſtill exiſting among the Circaſſians in the antient country of the Amazons, muſt readily diſcover in them the origin of the Grecian fables concerning thoſe famous ladies of antiquity; and, indeed, if the Greeks had as much foundation for all their celebrated fictions, as for the two that took origin in this part of the world, viz. their golden fleece and the kingdom of the Amazons, we can by no means give them all the credit for poetic imagination, which has been commonly allowed to that nation. I cannot take leave of this ſubject without hazarding a conjecture, that, as the country I have been ſpeaking of is regarded by many as the great cradle of the *European* variety of the human ſpecies, the Lacedemonian cuſtoms which diſtinguiſhed them from the other Grecian ſtates may have taken origin in the Caucaſus, where our late imperial academician Guilinſtead has found the ſtriking reſemblances related above; and on which it is unneceſſary to comment to thoſe well acquainted with Grecian hiſtory, who will probably find with me the baſis upon which the Spartans erected their ſyſtem of public education detached from the women, their art of thieving undiſcovered, &c.

There is ſtill another cuſtom, however, which I neglected to mention, viz. a leathern belt ſewed round the waiſt of female children in Circaſſia, and which is renewed as often as burſt by the

growth of the girl, till the nuptial night, when it is cut looſe by the ſabre of the huſband in defiance of the bride's reſiſtance. Is it not eaſy to find, in this antient uſage, the origin of the ſtruggle which took place between the Spartan bride and her huſband before he could untie the zone, where marriage ſeemed a ſpecies of privileged rape?

LETTER LXXX.

As the colonies founded by the Greeks on the ſhores of the Euxine and Mæotis are now about to change their maſters, it may not be amiſs to ſay a few words of their firſt conqueror, before we come to relate his ſucceſs, and the uſe that he made of his victories.

Mithridates, King of Pontus (deſervedly ſurnamed The Great, as he made head for 30 years againſt the powerful republic of Rome in all its ſtrength and glory, and is acknowledged by the Latin writers to have given more trouble to Rome than Pyrrhus or Hannibal, with the Kings of Scythia and Macedon united), mounted the throne of Pontus 124 years before the commencement of our æra, whilſt yet a child of 11 years of age, and was educated by Greeks in his capital Sinope, in all the knowledge of the times, more eſpecially of Grecian tactics; as the Romans found to their coſt, when he kept their famous legions at bay for ſuch a number

of years, leading their generals and eagles in triumph more than once during that period. However, his acquirements were by no means confined to the military ſcience; as even the Roman authors acknowledge that he converſed with 24 different ambaſſadors each in his own language; for which we have the reſpectable authorities to be mentioned in another part of this letter.

After Mithridates came of age, he ſet out on his travels into foreign countries, from which he returned in three years, after having viſited many parts of the Eaſt, and conſiderably enlarged his view of things. The firſt work that he ſet about on coming home was the forming of an army to the Grecian manœuvres, and arming it, in their manner, to reſiſt the Romans; being unwilling to remain a ſlave to theſe haughty republicans, as his father and grandfather had been; the one through neceſſity, the other from choice.

He therefore began his ſyſtem of independence, by loudly demanding juſtice, both of the ſenate and their pro-conſul in Aſia, for certain encroachments on his patrimony; and on their treating his repreſentations with deriſion, according to their uſual ſtyle to Aſiatic princes, he immediately ſet about righting himſelf, and, with the rapidity of an Alexander, not only recovered all Aſia Minor, but even drove the Romans out of Greece, Macedon, Thrace, &c. leading two of their generals with him in chains, viz. Quintus Appius, and Manius Aquilius. The laſt of the two he puniſhed for all the extortions and rapine that he had committed on his ſubjects, by ordering melted gold to be poured down his throat; as he was the fomenter and cauſe of the Mithridatic war, which, indeed, only ended with the death of the Aſiatic hero, after a glorious ſtruggle of 30 years againſt the overgrown power of Rome; and even that was effected by the treaſon of his own children, as has been already ſhown [161] on viſiting Panticapeos, the ſcene of the tragic event.

[161] Letter LII.

The

The only part of Mithridates' conqueſt, however, that belongs to my ſubject is that of the Greek colonies, which he ſubdued with wonderful celerity from the Thracian Boſphorus, or ſtraits of Conſtantinople (the antient Byzantium), all the way Eaſt to Trapezius or Trebiſond, and then carried his victorious arms to the kingdom of Colchis, the Cuban, Phanagoria, the kingdom of Boſphorus, and the Taurida; nay, he ſeems even to have given law to the colonies and nations dwelling on the Boryſthenes, Hypanis, Axiacus, and Tyras; as we find his general Diophanes defeating the Scythians in a pitched battle with a very inferior force, on his victorious march to thoſe countries after his conqueſt of the Taurida.

But we have another proof of his having carried his arms at leaſt as far as the Tyras, or Dnieſter; for even the Roman authors, Aulus Gellius, Valerius Maximus, and Quintillian, when confeſſing that Mithridates ſpoke to 24 ambaſſadors every one in the language of his reſpective country (as ſaid in the beginning of this letter), tell us, that the ambaſſador of the Roxolani was one of the number; a people that we know dwelt between the Dnieſter and Bog, or rather wandered with their herds within the confines of thoſe two rivers, the very country lately ceded to Ruſſia, and which muſt have been only a reſtitution made by the Turks, if the Roxolani were, as ſuppoſed, the anceſtors of the Ruſſians[162].

This poliſhed prince rebuilt the famous commercial city of Dioſcurus, afterwards called Sebaſtapolis in honour of Auguſtus, and encouraged trade throughout all his conqueſts; that is to ſay, as much as his long defenſive war would permit him to cultivate the

[162] The Editor, from his inquiries into the antiquities and origin of the Ruſſians, is of this opinion, though more from internal evidence than poſitive proof, which made him cautious of advancing it in his late work.

arts

arts of peace; but, as the Romans never left him in quiet, except in the two years of his long reign which elapſed between the firſt and ſecond Mithridatic war, it is impoſſible to ſay what ſuch a genius might have done in favour of commerce and letters, which he loved and cultivated, had he enjoyed more eaſe and tranquillity.

LETTER LXXXI.

ON the death of Mithridates, the Romans reduced all his vaſt dominions to the ſtate of Roman provinces, governed either by prætors, or tributary princes; among which laſt number was the traitor Pharnaces, who was left for a time in the government of the Taurida and Boſphorus, till, in an unſucceſsful attempt to recover the reſt of his father's realms, he met the juſt puniſhment of his unnatural crime, in the well-known battle begun by Julius Cæſar with the memorable words, "*Shall this treacherous parricide go unpuniſhed?*" and who related his victory to the Senate in the celebrated line, *Veni, vidi, vici!* —— I came, ſaw, and conquered! It is worthy of remark, that the field of battle was the ſame on which Mithridates defeated the Roman general Triarius.

The Romans, however, wiſely and politicly declared moſt of the principal commercial Greek cities free, to the great advantage of trade,

trade; and the warlike Emperor Trajan afterwards added to the conqueſts of Sylla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Julius Cæſar, on the ſhores of the Euxine, that of the paſtoral nations to the Eaſt and North of the Taurida, at the time when he carried his victorious arms from the Danube to the Don, and planted Roman colonies in the wilds of Scythia, where Darius and Philip of Macedon had met with nothing but diſgrace.

Theſe mighty conqueſts, however, added more to the military reputation of Trajan, than to the profit of the empire, if commerce was in view in this pagan croiſade to plant the Caduceus of Mercury, as we afterwards ſo devoutly ſtrove to plant the Croſs of Chriſt by force of arms; a concluſion in which I am warranted by the ſubſequent conduct of the wiſe Adrian, who, finding the numerous garriſons neceſſary to preſerve theſe countries only a burthen to the ſtate, without any adequate advantage, withdrew them by degrees, ſo as not to expoſe the lives of the Roman coloniſts ſettled there, as would certainly have been the caſe had he done ſo at once, before they were prepared to defend themſelves.

I ſhall now finiſh this ſlight mention of the Roman poſſeſſions on the Euxine (to be ſoon reſumed on the ſubject of their commerce), with obſerving, that moſt of our geographical knowledge of theſe countries was acquired during the dominion of this enlightened people; for, what we poſſeſſed before, was merely the information from Herodotus, and the Periplos of Scylax, both works of high antiquity.

Pliny has given us all that was collected by Varro (who accompanied Pompey), Mutius, and Cornelius Nepos: information, which only reached as far Eaſt as the city of Dioſcurias, or Sebaſtapolis; for the remainder we owe to the excellent Periplos of Arrian, ſo often mentioned in this Tour, who wrote in the reign of Hadrian; certainly with ſuperior advantages, from his being a native of Bythinia, governor of Cappadocia, and employed to make the

ſurveys,

ſurveys, with a Roman fleet, of both the Euxine and the colonies placed on its ſhores; and accordingly we find in his work a much more minute account of them than in thoſe of Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Ptolemy, and ſome other antient writers, though all of them have treated of theſe countries.

Since the time of the Romans, we find but little on the Euxine, if we except the valuable information furniſhed by the Greek Emperor Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus, in his "De Adminiſtrando Imperio;" for both the Venetians and Genoeſe were too much occupied with commerce, and in diſputing the poſſeſſion of the valuable Tauric cities, &c. to write on the geography of the countries they were fighting for, although highly qualified to do ſo, as the moſt enlightened nations of that period. Laſtly, as the Euxine and its colonies have been for ſome centuries in the hands of the ignorant Turks, who took them from the Genoeſe, we could expect no information from men who have not even at this day the invaluable art of printing general among them; ſo that it was reſerved for the Ruſſian dominion in theſe countries to revive inquiry into the preſent ſtate of the antient Greek colonies.

LETTER LXXXII.

Venetian and Genoese Possession of the Euxine Colonies.

THE Venetians began to predominate in the Euxine toward the decline of the Eaſtern Roman empire; as it was about that time that the degenerate Cæſars courted their maritime aid againſt the Saracens and Turks, who had, by degrees, almoſt penned them up in Conſtantinople by their repeated conqueſts; and it is but little ſurpriſing, that the feeble ſucceſſors of the great Conſtantine ſhould declare the powerful Venetians the moſt favoured nation, when even the terrible ſlaughter made among their enemies the Turks by the famous Timur Beg (better known in Europe by his nick-name Tamerlane, or the limper,) could not retrieve their affairs; although he came to the aſſiſtance of the declining empire, and almoſt annihilated the Turkiſh army, taking their Sultan Bajazet priſoner, near Mount Stella in Pontus: a ſpot already noted for the total overthrow of Mithridates by Pompey.

The politic republicans, however, to ſtrengthen ſtill more their intereſt in Conſtantinople, had the addreſs to direct a part of the wild chivalry of the Croiſades to that quarter; well convinced, that by ſeating a Latin Prince on the throne, they muſt infallibly receive, as they did, a monopoly of the Euxine trade, to counterbalance the loſs of their commerce in the Saracen ports of the Mediterranean,

ranean, then almoſt entirely interrupted by the torrent of church militants rolling in that direction, and who would certainly all have taken that road, had not the Venetians, as ſaid above, tranſported 40,000 of thoſe fanatics to the metropolis of the Greek empire, and helped to ſeat a Frenchman on the throne.

The Venetians now rode triumphant on both the Black and Aſoff Seas, while they were at liberty to form ſettlements on their ſhores, and accordingly took poſſeſſion of Theodocia, Tanais (or Aſoff), Trapezus (or Trebizond), &c. till a ſecond revolution threw the commerce and colonies on the Euxine into the hands of their rivals the Genoeſe, who baffled them at their own weapons, and reſtored the Greek dynaſty, by which they became the moſt favoured nation, and monopolized in turn all the mercantile advantages enjoyed by their rivals during the ſhort Latin reign.

Several bloody battles, however, were fought between the two maritime republics, for the empire of the Euxine and Mæotis; till at length Venice gave up a conteſt entirely fruitleſs on their ſide, while all advantages and privileges were given to Genoa by the grateful Michael Palæologus.

It was now that the democratic republic founded a ſort of empire in the Taurida, and choſe the antient city of Theodocia for its capital, to which they reſtored its antique Roman name of Caſum, modified to Caffa to ſuit their own language. This they found in a ruined condition; as, indeed, was the caſe when Arrian viſited it; who ſays, that he ſaw only ſome Greek inſcriptions on its mouldering walls. A company of Genoeſe merchants ſettled there ſoon after the reſtoration of the Greek emperor [163], by permiſſion of the Chan of the Kozares, then ſovereign of the Taurida, or Kozaria, in conſequence of a treaty made with him, or rather a charter of pri-

[163] It may not be amiſs to remind the reader that, in ſpeaking of a Greek and Latin Emperor filling the throne of the Roman empire erected in Conſtantinople, the Writer merely alludes to their belonging to the Greek or Latin Church. EDITOR.

vileges granted them, which has been handed down to us, and is as follows:

Article I. The Genoeſe ſhall pay the ordinary duties on all goods imported and exported by them to and from Kozaria in Genoeſe ſhips.

Article II. Every Genoeſe ſubject ſhall have permiſſion to buy and ſell all goods brought into Kozaria from every country whatſoever.

Article III. The Genoeſe ſhall be permitted to build houſes and magazines for themſelves and their merchandize, in ſuch places as the Chan ſhall think proper.

Thus the Genoeſe very modeſtly began their Tauric colonization; but the port of Caffa was ſo excellent, and its ſituation ſo central for the commerce of the Euxine, that they ſoon engroſſed it almoſt entirely, and daily increaſed the number of mercantile ſettlers, houſes, magazines, &c.; till at laſt the fallen Theodocia aroſe from its ruins, and became, under its new name of Caffa, a greater and more flouriſhing city than ever it had been in the time of the Greeks and Romans.

The enterprizing republicans now thought it time to ſecure their Euxine mart from all attacks by land and ſea; and, in purſuance of this plan, obtained permiſſion of the unſuſpecting prince to cut a trench round it, under pretence of guarding their magazines againſt any ſudden danger from the many pirates who infeſted the ſeas; and, on obtaining this apparently-trifling favour, moſt artfully employed it to make themſelves independent, and, in fact, ſovereigns of the peninſula, in the following manner.

The earth of the trench they heaped up on the outer ſide of it all round, as a ſpecies of ſimple rampart; which gave neither umbrage nor alarm to the reigning prince, who never ſuſpected that behind this ſcreen they were buſily employed in building one of brick, which, when finiſhed, was furniſhed with turrets at proper diſtances, on various pretences; theſe the Tartars only ſtared at as novelties, till Caffa became a place regularly fortified in the ſtile of

of that period, and able to reſiſt all the force that Scythia could bring againſt it.

Exulting in their ſtrength, it was not long before the inſolence of the colony ſet the Kozar power at defiance, and ſhowed the too credulous prince the real uſe of the buildings that had excited his ſurprize.

LETTER LXXXIII.

THE Genoeſe had, from their advantages of every kind over an ignorant ſimple race of men, become umpires in all diſputes among the natives; and had gradually gained ſuch an aſcendancy in Kozaria, as at laſt even to influence the choice of its Chan, and ſettle all diſputes among the princes of the blood relative to the ſucceſſion, &c. At length, a Tartar having a diſpute with a Genoeſe ſhopkeeper in the market of Caffa, it ended in a fray wherein the Tartar was killed.

The Chan, regarding this as an attack on his ſovereignty, ordered the Genoeſe to evacuate the peninſula; as he had only granted them a ſettlement on his territory during their good behaviour, and had now great reaſon to be diſpleaſed. The colony, however, although convinced that they had nothing to object to the ſovereign right of the Chan, were too haughty to deprecate his wrath by an apology

apology and a preſent, in the Oriental ſtile, as might eaſily have been done, but rather choſe to ſet his authority at defiance, and ſent back his herald with a ſcornful anſwer; convinced that their fortifications were proof againſt all the force of the Tartars, as was ſoon proved to be the caſe; for they met death under the walls of Caffa, yet were unable to hurt a ſingle republican by their arrows.

The Kozares, thus taught by ſad experience the inequality of the combat, turned their fruitleſs attack into a blockade; but here again they were equally unſucceſsful; for the Genoeſe gallies plentifully furniſhed the city with every neceſſary, while they prevented neutral veſſels from bringing the Chan any kind of ſupplies, or even trading with the natives; ſo that, in fact, he found himſelf beſieged, inſtead of the coloniſts, who enjoyed plenty and a free commerce. Even this, however, was not all; for, as the aſpiring Genoeſe had by degrees poſſeſſed themſelves of the other ports of the Taurida, during the period of unlimited credit and confidence which they enjoyed before the rupture, and even built forts at Soudaja (or Soudak), and the Portus Symbolon (now Balaklava), they made deſcents with their fleet, and plundered the country; ſo that the Kozares were reduced to a moſt humiliating and diſtreſſing ſituation.

Theſe proceedings, however, at laſt drew the attention, and rouſed to arms the whole coaſt of the Euxine, alarmed at the ſpirit of uſurpation aſſumed by a ſet of mercantile adventurers, who, throwing aſide all juſtice and equity, with regard to a native ſovereign whom they had betrayed and inſulted, were now diſpoſſeſſing him of his dominions.

All the other Genoeſe colonies were immediately attacked and taken, beginning with Trebizond, the antient Trapezus, and principal of the whole, excepting Caffa; ſo that they would, in all probability, have paid dearly for their uſurpation, had not fortune moſt unexpectedly delivered them from the danger they were in, even

even after their fleet had been beaten by that of Venice and Piſa in a bold attempt made by the republic of Genoa (who countenanced the proceedings of their Tauric colony) to ſurprize Conſtantinople itſelf, by a powerful ſquadron with 8000 land troops on board, and the aſſiſtance of their countrymen ſettled in Galata, one of the ſuburbs of that city.

Their miraculous deliverance came from a quarter the leaſt expected. Batis, or Baarty, nephew of the famous Tartar conqueror, Zingis Chan, in marching to ſubdue Ruſſia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, exterminated the Kozares, and placed their own Mongul horde in the Taurida (which they now called Crimea, or Crim Tartary), to the great joy of the Genoeſe, who, by that revolution, were not only delivered from their enemies, but even found means to conciliate the good-will of their new ſovereigns; by offering to furniſh them with every thing that a people without arts and manufactures muſt ſtand in need of, in return for a little of the ſuperfluous riches that they had amaſſed in plundering India and Perſia, which had obtained them the name of the Golden Horde.

LETTER

LETTER LXXXIV.

ALTHOUGH the Genoeſe colony of Caffa fortunately weathered the ſtorm which their inſolence and daring uſurpation had raiſed, as related in my laſt; or, rather, was delivered from the puniſhment that awaited their tyranny by a ſpecies of miracle, when the whole Euxine was in arms againſt them, aided by the fleets of Venice and Piſa; yet even that ſerious leſſon does not ſeem to have had much effect on their future conduct; for we find them, after monopolizing the Commerce of the Euxine for 150 years more, again renewing on the Crim Tartars the ſame inſults which had armed the Kozares againſt them, till they laid their proud city in the duſt, and entailed on themſelves and their poſterity the galling yoke of Turkiſh ſlavery. The particulars of this intereſting event will finiſh our propoſed ſketch of the Euxine colonies, as it brings their hiſtory down to the Turkiſh conqueſt.

In 1474 (while Caffa was governed by Anthony Cabella, as conſul, with two counſellors or aſſiſtants, named Francis Fieſchi and Hubert Squarciaſico, all three Genoeſe; and a fourth magiſtrate, commonly a native, and named by the Chan, becauſe he exerciſed a juriſdiction over the Chan's ſubjects in the ſervice of the Genoeſe colony, at their country ſeats, farms, &c. although afterwards to be approved of by the Governors of Caffa), a man named Mamac, who filled this fourth magiſterial office, happening to die, Melinchery (or Mengly

Mengly Gheray)[164], Chan of the Crimea, appointed one Eminek in his place; but the widow of the deceaſed, having found means, by the judicious diſtribution of 300 ſequins, to engage the Genoeſe magiſtrates in favour of her ſon Seitak, the Chan was, of courſe, highly offended; till it was agreed on, that the Genoeſe government, as an acknowledgement of the Sovereign's right, ſhould confirm any other perſon whom the Chan might name to the office, except his firſt choice Eminek, to whom they pretended to have a diſlike. Melinchery now appointed another, named Caraimerſa, and accompanied him in perſon into the city, probably by way of ſhowing that he had forgotten any reaſon that he had had to be diſpleaſed with what had happened. But how much muſt the too credulous Chan have been ſhocked at finding himſelf a priſoner in the hands of the faithleſs republicans, as he ſoon ſaw was the caſe, when they plainly told him, that they muſt ſtill have Seitak for their *Prefect* (being, probably, unwilling to refund his mother's gold); and the Counſellor Squarciafico roſe to threaten him with inſtantly ſending to open the ſtate priſon of Soudaja (Soudak), and letting looſe the next heirs to his crown[165], while he would be kept priſoner in Caffa till his throne was ſeized upon, if he did not immediately comply with their will: a piece of treachery that had the effect, in the mean time, of making Seitak prefect, but which hung the inſolent counſellor on a gibbet as ſoon as the city was taken.

[164] The laſt of theſe appellations is the proper name of this Chan, although commonly written Melinchery, after the Tartar pronunciation. He is ſaid to have been taken priſoner when very young by the Genoeſe, and carefully educated by them, ſo as to be attached to themſelves and their cuſtoms, &c. in caſe they ſhould find it for their intereſt to raiſe him to the Chanate as a deſcendant of Tſchingis Chan, ſhould the Prince of the Peninſula not be ſufficiently ſubmiſſive to their will; and they accordingly did ſo through the protection of Mahomet II. while in diſpute with the reigning Chan; though they afterwards even domineered over him in ſuch a manner that their own ſlave and creature could not bear it.

[165] In moſt Eaſtern countries, the next heirs to the throne are kept under guard, and carefully watched, to prevent inſurrections and revolutions in the ſtate.

The means which they took to force the Chan into compliance with their tyrannick will ſo far ſucceeded; but the injured Eminek, not having the ſame political reaſons as his ſovereign for putting up with his wrongs, had recourſe to the all-powerful protection of Mahomet II. Sultan of the Turks, juſt returned from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt Perſia, and maſter of a fleet of 482 armed veſſels built for the conqueſt of Rhodes, who, finding that the reduction of the rich colony of Caffa would make a good beginning to his maritime exploits, and inſure Conſtantinople a ſupply of corn, during his abſence from the Taurida (then the granary of the Euxine), ordered an embarkation of 10,000 Azaphs, and as many Janiſſaries, on board the fleet, which he ſent to beſiege Caffa, while Eminek, with a body of Tartars, attacked it on the land ſide.

This event decided the fate of that flouriſhing city; for, although Melinchery, forgetting his perſonal wrongs in the general danger of the peninſula, which was going to be torn from him, ran to its aſſiſtance with all the force that he could command, yet the terror with which ſuch an armament ſtruck the late inſolent and haughty coloniſts was ſo great, that they made not even one effort to prevent the landing of the forces and artillery, which ſoon battered down a part of their old walls, and made them lower the croſs to the creſcent, even without conditions; ſo that, although Achmet Bacha, their conqueror, granted the citizens their lives on ſurrendering at diſcretion, he tranſported them to populate a ſuburb of Conſtantinople, confounded with the other ſlaves of the Ottoman empire. But while he ſpared all the reſt, after the ſword was ſheathed, he hung upon a gibbet the venal traitor Squarciafico, immediately on his arrival in the Turkiſh capital, without letting him enter its gate, or defile the city by his preſence.

On the fall of the Genoeſe, their rivals, the Venetians, applied for the commerce of the Euxine; which the politic Mahomet granted, on the expreſs condition that fire-arms and gunpowder ſhould conſtitute a part of every cargo; by which means he ſoon amaſſed.

amaſſed a ſufficient quantity of both, to ſhut up the Thracian Boſphorus againſt Venice and all other nations: a ſyſtem which was followed by his ſucceſſors for 300 years, till Ruſſia lately opened it again with the ſame key that Mahomet had employed to ſhut it.

LETTER LXXXV.

The antient Commerce of the Euxine Colonies, from the Time of the Greeks, to the Ruſſian Conqueſt of the North Shore of the Black Sea.

HAVING now completed the little ſketch that I propoſed of the hiſtory of the Euxine colonies, I ſhall finiſh my Tour with a rapid glance at their antient commerce; as I ſee no proſpect of winter roads in this mild ſeaſon, to carry me home to Peterſburg; ſo that I ſeem deſtined to ſcribble on the banks of the Bog till next ſpring, and know no ſubject likely to intereſt you ſo much, as the one with which I am now amuſing myſelf.

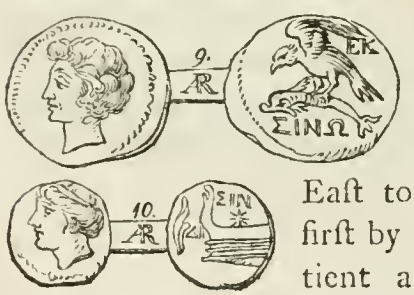
Greek Commerce.

If the Greeks were really allured into the Euxine by the gold of Colchis, they were much more fortunate than they deſerved; as they found a more permanent ſource of riches in its ſurrounding

ſhores, than even the mines of Peru and Mexico, ſuperior to any in the antient world; and ſtill the ſad example of Spain ſhews what would have been their fate if their ſanguine expectations had been fulfilled; they would have been condemned to labour in the mines for ages, to extract the precious metals for other nations; as the influx of gold would have baniſhed induſtry from their own country, and obliged them to part with their dear-bought treaſure, obtained at the riſk of health, to purchaſe the manufactures of wiſer and more vigorous nations, employed in lucrative trade and ſalutary labour, which increaſes population, inſtead of diminiſhing it.

Fisheries.

The firſt ſpecies of commerce in which the Greeks engaged was, that of all others the beſt calculated to lay the foundation of future greatneſs[166], as it not only tended to augment their infant marine for the protection of the colonies already formed, but likewiſe to give them the command of the Euxine, with the facility of forming others on its ſhores wherever they thought proper.

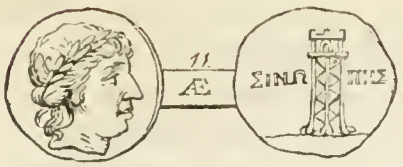


The firſt ſettlements which the Mileſians planted were on the South coaſt of the Euxine, as ſaid in a former letter; and thoſe all the way from Sinope[167] Eaſt to Trapezus, now Trebiſond, ſubſiſted at firſt by catching three kinds of fiſh, which antient authors call Peladimus, Thymus, and

[166] The coloniſts ſeem to have been ſo convinced of the great importance of their fiſheries, that ſeveral of them, ſuch as Iſtriopolis, Sinope, Olbiopolis, and Panticapeum, have a *fiſh* on their coins; while even the great city of Byzantium indicates, by a *fiſh-hook* on its money, how much it was beholden to that ſource of riches.

[167] This famous city was taken by Lucullus, and became ſubject to the Romans; but all the coins that I have given are Autonomi.

Dolphinus;



Dolphinus [168]; but I have ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect, that this early fiſhery muſt likewiſe have included the Kephal, Caloſa, and Sprattus; as we know from Pallas, that theſe laſt three ſpecies are fiſhes of paſſage in the Euxine, which make the tour of the whole coaſt, and then go out of the Thracian Boſphorus.

Beſides making their fiſhery ſubſervient to their nouriſhment, they likewiſe exported great quantities; and a deficiency of ſalt for this laſt purpoſe, which they only procured from ſome works on the river Halys, ſtruck out another lucrative branch of trade; for it obliged them to find out a way of extracting *oil* from the larger kinds of fiſh, more particularly the dolphin, not to loſe entirely the fruits of their labour in catching them; and it found a moſt ready ſale abroad, at a time when oil alone lighted the houſes of all ranks of people, before the invention of candles.

I have already mentioned, in the hiſtory of the Euxine colonies, another valuable fiſhery which the Mileſians carried on in the Palus Mæotis, at the mouths of ſome of the principal rivers on the Aſiatic ſide, where they caught a large fiſh which Strabo calls Antacæi; the curing and exportation of which muſt have been a moſt lucrative branch of trade; as the ſame people were in poſſeſſion of the Salt Lakes on both ſides of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, and, of courſe, muſt have commanded any quantity of that neceſſary article, even to ſupply the deficiency for the fiſheries of Aſia Minor. As I have already remarked in another place, that the Antacæi of Strabo and Pliny is a ſpecies of ſturgeon, or the Accipenſer of Linnæus, I have only to add, that it is ſtill caught at the mouth of the river Cuban, the Verdanus of the Antients, and is a valuable branch of trade to this day.

[168] It is probable, that the firſt three ſpecies of large fiſh only were exported, and, of courſe, the only kinds *known* to authors abroad: the ſmaller being conſumed at home, and unknown beyond the Euxine.

It

It may be worth remarking, that another name given by the Antients to the Cuban river, was Antacites; probably derived from its abounding in the fiſh antacæi. In the preſent times, other kinds of fiſh are caught in great numbers in the upper part of the ſea of Aſoff; viz. the Cyprinus Ballerus, and Cyprini Cultrati of Linnæus; the firſt in ſuch immenſe quantities as to be an article of exportation from Taganrog, where they are cured for foreign commerce; but I will not venture to ſay that the Antients did the ſame: as I only go upon written record for every thing advanced in this Tour that we did not ſee ourſelves, except an occaſional *conjecture*, which is always given as ſuch.

East India Trade.

The next valuable branch of commerce which the Greeks fell into on the Euxine (for I hold their fiſheries as the firſt) was the rich Indian trade carried on far beyond the reach of hiſtory, and their arrival in theſe ſeas, by the channel of the Caſpian, Cyrus, and Phaſis; and which the coloniſts ſettled in the antient kingdom of Colchis learned from the natives, eſpecially from the inhabitants of Iberia, who had been rendered by it rich and flouriſhing; while their country was become one of the beſt cultivated in Aſia, as already remarked, and covered with well-built cities; ſo that there is little wonder if the fame of the riches of Colchis had reached Greece at an early period, and produced the Argonaut expedition to ſhare in it.

We are told, that at firſt the Greek ſettlers went as far as Nineveh, the capital of Aſſyria, then the great mart for India goods, to purchaſe their cargoes: till [illegible] more knowledge of the trade, they diſcovered [illegible]bly the natives had concealed [illegible] much cheaper by [illegible]who brought them as far

far as the Caſpian ſea, only 375 miles from their principal ſettlement, Serapanis on the Phaſis, to which their ſhips could come up and load.

As to the whole courſe of this trade from India to the Euxine, we owe the information to the enquiries of Pompey, after defeating Mithridates. That great man, wiſhing to open once more this channel of wealth to his country, which had been ſhut ſince the days of the Greeks (the period that I am treating of), ſent intelligent people to make enquiries; and they related on their return,—that the goods were conveyed in ſeven days from India to the river Icare in Bactria, which falls into the Oxus, and that river into the Caſpian, where the Greek merchants received the rich merchandizes, and brought them in boats up the Cyrus, now Kur, from which river they were carried by land to the Phaſis, and arrived at Sarapanis in four days, as the road was ſo good as even to admit the uſe of carts. From Serapanis the loaded veſſels eaſily dropped down to the Euxine; and, after traverſing that ſea, ſailed through the Thracian Boſphorus to the Grecian ſtates for which they were bound.

In tracing this channel of the Antient India Trade, I did not chooſe to ſtop and explain an Herculean labour which we are told the Greeks were obliged to effect before they could convey the goods from the Caſpian to the Phaſis, viz. the cutting of a canal through a mountain, to make the Cyrus and Araxus run together in the ſame bed into the Caſpian ſea, from a ſtagnant lake that interrupted their courſe. But I had ſtill a better reaſon for not clogging the relation with this boaſted work; which is, that I do not comprehend it myſelf, having never ſeen a map wherein it was laid down.

LETTER

LETTER LXXXVI.

Roman Commerce in the Euxine.

We have no detailed account of the Euxine trade while Mithridates was maſter of the colonies on its ſhores; although we know, in general terms, that he encouraged commerce as much as the Romans would give him leiſure to do; but as ſoon as theſe warlike and aſpiring republicans became ſovereigns of the country, they eſtabliſhed their emporium for the India trade in the city of Phaſis, on the river of the ſame name, built on the ſite of the antient Æa, capital of Colchis, and the reſidence of its king Athena, when Jaſon landed there. Arrian gives us a high idea of both the magnitude and riches of this city when he viſited it in his Tour; and, indeed, from the minute accuracy with which he has deſcribed every thing on this coaſt, eſpecially the rivers (as may be ſeen on my Map), he is well worthy of our credit.

He ſays, the city of Phaſis was ſo vaſt, that whole companies of merchants, with their warehouſes and dwellings, were contained in it; all arranged along the banks of the river Phaſis, on which it ſtood; in ſhort, he found it a place of ſo much mercantile importance, that, though already garriſoned with 400 Roman ſoldiers, he ſtill thought proper, for greater ſecurity, to cut a double trench all around it, in caſe of any ſudden attack from the warlike mountaineers

taineers in the neighbourhood. (See his Periplos Pont. Euxin. page 45.)

We ſee, however, that theſe military coloniſts (for commerce among the Romans was left entirely to ſlaves, the property of the martial nobles, or at the higheſt to their freed men,) were much worſe merchants than either their predeceſſors the Greeks, or their ſucceſſors the Venetians and Genoeſe; which is evident from their never going beyond the old Greek mart of Serapanis to purchaſe their merchandizes, but being content to receive them at ſecond or third hand in that city.

This extraordinary indolence has very little the appearance of freemen trading for their own intereſt, which commonly makes men both active and quick-ſighted, and may account for a curious circumſtance in the Roman India trade, that greatly puzzled the learned Formaleoni, whom I have chiefly followed in the Euxine commerce: this was, that a part of the India goods brought to Serapanis, by a people whom Pliny the naturaliſt calls the *Iſſedonæ*, were fine furs; and ſurely furs from India are enough to puzzle any one. It may, however, be poſſible to account for this phenomenon in the following manner. Naturaliſts know, that the beſt martin ſkins we have in Ruſſia come from the Caucaſus; therefore it is probable, that the merchants who traded with the Romans might purchaſe that handſome fur, ſo much uſed to border garments, from the mountaineers on their way up from the Caſpian to Serapanis, keeping to themſelves the ſecret that they were to be met with ſo near the habitations of the indolent coloniſts, who we are told never went beyond it in ſearch of goods at the firſt hand. As to the uſe which the Romans made of theſe furs, their empire was ſo vaſt, and contained ſo many climates, that the ſale of them was eaſy; but we ſee to this day the Greeks, Turks, &c. wearing furs in warm climates, to keep off the heat, as they aſſert; and, indeed, of late, flannel next the ſkin has been found the beſt preſervative in the ſultry Britiſh iſlands, probably from being a bad conductor of heat.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Roman Chinese Silk Trade.

ONE article of Oriental merchandize which the Romans obtained through this channel, even after a great part of the India goods had found another, on Egypt becoming a Roman province, was ſilk; a luxury highly prized, and aſtoniſhingly dear in antient times, till the eggs of the ſilk-worm were brought to Conſtantinople in the reign of Juſtinian, and the inſect plentifully reared in Europe.

This coſtly article they received from a people whom they called Seres; in all probability the Chineſe, as the empire of Catai, or China, was named Sereca at that time, and we even recognize that ſingular people in the jealouſy which they ſhewed of ſtrangers then as now, and by their receiving, in return for their goods, little elſe than the precious metals.

Theſe ſhy traders came, as we are told, every year to a certain river, and there laid down their goods on its bank, for the foreign merchants to croſs over and examine them; laying down likewiſe the propoſed equivalent, or price; which the Seres looked at in turn when the others were retired; and, if they liked the bargain, carried away the offered barter; if not, their own goods, and left the market, without having exchanged a word with the ſtrangers, who,

who, probably, were ſome intermediate people that thus procured ſilk to carry to Serapanes.

Another curious fact occurs in this trade; viz, that the Seres always brought the ſilk to market in thoſe days wrought up in ſtuffs, either by itſelf or with cotton; ſo that it was the employment of the Roman ladies to unravel theſe webs, and to work the ſilk up a ſecond time (mixed with woollen or linen yarn from œconomy) into forms more ſuitable to their taſte and faſhions; eſpecially into a ſpecies of tranſparent gauze, then much in vogue, called Coæ[169]; under which (exclaims old Pliny) the Roman ladies did not bluſh to appear naked in the ſtreets. We likewiſe learn, that it was much the faſhion to embroider theſe new-wrought ſilks with ſilver and gold for the gay belles of Rome.

Another article of merchandize which the Romans received through this channel, I own, puzzles me, as much as the furs did Formaleoni; and that was *ſteel*, which the venerable Pliny tells us they likewiſe obtained from the Seres, or Chineſe; at leaſt the Bactrians brought it up to Serapanes at the ſame time, and ſaid that they procured it from the ſame people.

This, we are further told, was ſo much ſuperior to the Occidental, and even to that made by the dexterous Chaldeans of Pontus (ſurnamed Chalybes, from their fame in working iron), that no fine work in that metal could be made in the Weſt, without a certain proportion of the Oriental ſteel.

Now it ſeems pretty evident, that the art of converting iron into ſteel was unknown at a time when the price was ſo high as to pay its carriage from ſuch a diſtance, and ſtill bring profit to the merchants who dealt in it; and I think it very probable, that the crafty

[169] So named from this ſpecies of pelucid garb being firſt made in the iſland of Cos; but the principal reaſon of this ſecond fabrication of ſilk ſeems to have been the exceſſive price of it in thoſe days; for we are told, that even the Emperor Aurelian refuſed his wife a dreſs of pure ſilk, or *holoſerica*; ſo that ſhe was obliged to content herſelf with a *ſubſerica* garb, or one of mixed ſilk. Veſtes Melitenſes were then likewiſe worn, or cotton gowns; probably ſo called from their being firſt made in the city of Melit.

Chineſe, long a poliſhed people before we emerged from barbariſm, would keep the proceſs a ſecret, till the Europeans diſcovered it of themſelves.

Before quitting the ſubject of the Roman India trade, I ſhall juſt remark, that we ſee, from the 23d Chapter of the VIth Book of Pliny, that the branch of it which flowed by this channel, although by no means ſo lucrative as that by the way of Egypt (monopolized by the Cæſars, to fill their private purſes, and bribe the troops and the canaille of Rome for tyrannical purpoſes), always afforded a hundred per cent clear profit; while he complains of its being a conſtant drain of European ſpecie, as the Romans ſent yearly to Serapanis a hundred millions of ſeſterces.

This ſeems to have been the complaint of all ages; and it is equally true and curious, that, although both India and China have been repeatedly conquered and plundered by the Tartars, yet the precious metals have always found their road back again, in the way that Pliny and others complain of: a wonderful proof of the great induſtry and few wants of the Orientals, partly to be attributed to their climate, and partly to the wiſdom of their political and religious inſtitutions. It is impoſſible to cloſe this article without a remark on the high antiquity of this commerce. Solomon traded to India upwards of 700 years before Chriſt; and he, probably, only followed a tract beaten a thouſand years before him: a ſubject on which the Abyſſinian Bruce is equally learned and luminous.

I ſhall now finiſh with obſerving, that the only nation in hiſtory which ever drew a regular revenue from India into Europe, is the Engliſh ſince they acquired territorial poſſeſſions there.

LETTER

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Venetian, Genoese, and Tartar India Trade in the Euxine.

THE Venetians and Genoeſe during the Middle Ages carried on the India trade by this channel much in the ſame manner as the Greeks and Romans had done before them, though with more activity than the laſt military people; the Venetians making Conſtantinople, and the Genoeſe Caffa, their mart for the rich merchandiſe. Here I find nothing ſufficiently new, or different from the matter of my two laſt letters, to be worth the trouble of communicating; ſo I ſhall leave the two mercantile republics to carry on their Oriental commerce in ſilence, and acquire the wealth that reſulted from it, more particularly to Genoa, which enjoyed it longeſt.

There is ſtill, however, another nation, whom few would ſuſpect to have carried on the Indian trade during the Middle Ages; and, of courſe, ſome account of it is likely to intereſt you: this was the famous Golden Horde, ſo long the maſters of Ruſſia, who in 1223, under Bati, nephew of the Tartar conqueror Zingis Chan, ſettled in the Kaptchak, or country lying between the rivers Don, Volga, and Yaik.

Theſe Tartars had gained much knowledge of India, and its Weſtern trade, during their expedition into the Eaſt, and their warlike

warlike prince; ſo that as ſoon as they were fairly ſettled in their new dominions under the government of his nephew, and had acquired poſſeſſion of the Sea of Aſoff, the Crimea, &c. they began a trade to Smaracand, as they called the antient Maracanda (then the great emporium for India goods, and afterwards deſtined to be the capital of their conqueror Tamerlane, who overturned the empire of Zingis, and erected a new one on its ruins).

There the Golden Horde purchaſed large quantities of rich India merchandize, which they conveyed by the Oxus and Caſpian to the city of Aſtracan, then in their poſſeſſion; from whence they ſent part up the Volga [170] to Cazan, which found its way from thence to Novogorod, and Stara Ladago on the river Wolkof, &c. Now as we know that the republic of Novogorod traded to the Hanſeatic towns, and was even a member of their league, the India goods ſent thither by the Tartars muſt have been diffuſed over the North of Europe by that channel.

Another portion of the Eaſtern merchandize the Tartars ſent likewiſe up the *Endel*, as they called the Volga, or Rha of the Antients, as far as the place where it bends toward the Tanais, or Don, called *Tan* in their language: a name evidently derived from the antient. Thence the rich cargoes were tranſported about 30 verſts over-land from the Volga to the Don, and carried down that laſt river to the great Sarmatian mart *Tanais*, now Aſoff, then the principal ſettlement of the Venetians in theſe countries, who muſt have been the more pleaſed to receive the India goods in this way from the Tartars, as the Genoeſe, their rivals, were then in poſſeſſion of the antient channel ſo often mentioned, from the Caſpian to the Euxine or Black Sea, by the Cyrus and Phaſis.

[170] Everybody knows, that the river Volga was the Rha of the Antients; but it is a curious fact, that to this day it goes by the ſame name in the language of the Mordvines (or Mordva as the Ruſſians call them), a people dwelling on the river Cheremtſhan, in the province of Orenburg. Who would have expected to have found the Pa of Ptolemy in the mouth of a Mordvine, whoſe language is made up of the Finniſh and Ungriſh?

Having

Having now given all the information that I have been able to collect, concerning the antient Eaſt India trade flowing into Europe by the way of the Euxine, and which I took up as it lay in my way, although treated by the great hiſtorian Robertſon, I ſhall now return to the commerce at large of the Euxine and Mæotis in antient times[171].

General Commerce.

It appears to me, that the Greeks and Romans, as well as their ſucceſſors in the Euxine colonies, found a more ſtable and conſtant

[171] There was ſtill a rich and powerful people in the Ruſſian empire who muſt have had a large ſhare in the India trade, either directly, by enterpriſing merchants who came down to the Caſpian yearly; or (which is more probable) by ſome intermediate people who bartered the Oriental merchandize for their Northern furs; poſſibly the Sclavonians of Novogorod: I mean the rich and powerful Permians on the White Sea and the Dwina; the greateſt and moſt opulent of all the Finniſh race, the conſtant topic of the Iceland Chronicle, and the conſtant object of the piratical Northern expeditions from Norway and the Baltic in general, drawn thither by the enormous riches in gold and gems of the famous temple of their god Yummala, (the ſame name which they now give to the Almighty, as the Ruſſians do the name of their ſacred river the Bog,) worſhipped in their pagan ſtate, and held as ſacred as the Ganges in India. We cannot even conjecture any other ſource than India, where a nation dwelling on the White Sea in thoſe times could have obtained ſo much of the precious metals; for, as to the exiſtence of their ſplendid temple, it is better aſcertained than moſt things of that period; nay, we have even a book publiſhed in Saxon by a Norwegian in the ſervice of the Britiſh king Alfred the Great, who acknowledges that he himſelf was one of the adventurers that made a piratical expedition (as we term thoſe exploits now a-days) to rob the Permian temple of Yummala: I mean *Other* of Halgoland, at the extremity of Norway. This ſeems to have been the firſt expedition of the kind about the end of the ninth century; but the Norwegian princes and others continued them up to the beginning of the thirteenth century. This country *(Permia)* was the *Biarmeland* of the Old Chronicles, which ſpeak of kings of that country and a regular government; ſo that they ſeem to have been a civilized people: nay, Mr. Tooke adds (though he does not give his authority), that they were famous in very remote ages for their trade with the Indians and Perſians, who brought their goods up to them from the Caſpian by the Volga and Kama, as far as an antient town named Tſcherdyn, on the river Kolva, where they were received, and carried by the Permians up the Pettchora to the Frozen Ocean, to be bartered for furs, with which the trade was chiefly carried on.

ſource

ſource of commerce in the natural productions of the kingdom of Colchis, than even the lucrative India trade, ſo often turned into other channels by the conqueſts of the Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, and Tartars in the Eaſtern countries; troubling the ſource of the rich current at the fountain-head, and carrying part of it another way, if they could not divert the whole.

The mountains of Caucaſus ſeem to have furniſhed the Antients with naval ſtores, ſtill more uſeful than India goods; and Colchis, in particular, appears to have ſupported its claim to have been originally an Egyptian colony [172], by the great ſkill which its inhabitants ſhewed in the cultivation of *flax*, the famous weed of the Nile; and the art with which they worked it up into ſail-cloth, cordage, linen, &c.

The celebrated city of Dioſcurias, deſervedly called Sebaſtapolis (or the Auguſt City) by the Greeks, ſeems to have been the great market to which the numerous nations of the Caucaſus, including the Iberians, Albanians, Colchidans, &c. &c. as well as all the ſurrounding coloniſts ſettled on the ſhores of the Euxine, reſorted, not to mention the many barbarous hordes of Scythians, Sarmatians, mountaineers, &c.

Indeed, we may form a judgment of the immenſe concourſe of different nations to Sebaſtapolis, when we ſee that the Romans found it their intereſt, as ſaid in a former Letter, to keep there 120 interpreters for the facility of trade.

[172] The evidence of Herodotus ſeems moſt deciſive on this ſubject; for he tells us, in his ſecond Book, Euterpe, That he queſtioned the inhabitants of Colchis, while in their country, and found that they remembered their Egyptian anceſtors much better than the Egyptians remembered them. After mentioning their continuing to circumciſe their children in the Egyptian manner, he adds, that they are the only people who work up flax in the Egyptian method; in ſhort, that they ſpeak the ſame language, and live in the ſame manner. The Greeks called the flax that they received from Egypt Egyptian flax, and what they received from Colchis *Sardonic* flax; probably an error in the Greek text as *Serapanic* flax would have exactly indicated the very city on the river Phaſis where the goods were ſhipped for Greece.

Certainly

Certainly its fine port, ſtill the beſt on that coaſt, contributed much to make it a common reſort of merchants, as well as its convenient ſituation at the Northern extremity of the rich kingdom of Colchis, where the naval ſtores would eaſily deſcend the mountains, to be loaded in the ſhips awaiting them; ſuch as timber, tar, maſts, &c.; while the plains of Colchis would furniſh ſail-cloth, cordage, &c. and the Phaſis bring down cargoes of Indian and Chineſe goods, to be tranſported thither along the coaſt, in the ſame veſſels that embarked them at Serapanes.

Beſide the many articles of merchandiſe already enumerated, it muſt be remembered, that in the time of the Romans Caffa had not as yet run away with the ſlave trade from this antient market, nor engroſſed the ſale of Circaſſian beauty, then diſpoſed of in what may be called their own port, from its greater vicinity to the native abode of the fair Tſherkeſſes (their real name), deſtined in all ages to be an article of commerce, by chriſtians as well as pagans. I muſt own, that I ſhould be curious to ſee whether your Britiſh philanthropiſts, who have made ſuch a noiſe about the trade in negroes, would as obſtinately oppoſe the importation of fair Circaſſians, if your ſhips ſhould reſort to the Euxine for a cargo, inſtead of the coaſt of Africa, and furniſh thoſe ſturdy moraliſts with lovely handmaids?

My joke, you know, I muſt always have; and ſurely it is excuſable on taking leave of the Eaſtern coaſt of the Black Sea, where I have been ſo long engaged in ſerious commerce. Adieu.

LETTER LXXXIX.

General Commerce of the Euxine and Mæotis.

In purſuing the ſubject of the general commerce of theſe ſeas, I ſhall continue the tour of the Euxine coaſt, which I began at the Greek colony of Sinope in Paphlagonia, on account of the fiſhery which was the foundation of the whole; and having traced it Eaſtward along the ſhores of Aſia Minor to Trapezius, and journeying on from thence, in my commercial relation, through the antient kingdoms of Pontus and Colchis, with the Cuban; I am now arrived at the Mileſian ſettlement of Phanagoria, in the antient kingdom of Boſphorus. Here, beſide the large exportation of ſturgeon caught, as already ſaid, in the Bay of Corocondamus, now Cubanſkoy Liman, and on the Aſiatic ſhore of the Mæotis, or Sea of Aſoff, they ſent from this iſland wax and honey, with fox and martin ſkins, probably received in exchange for fiſh from the nations ſettled in the Cuban.

The next trading city that we meet with on the Aſiatic ſide was the city of Tanais, or Aſoff, on the river Don: a famous Northern mart, to which the Sarmatians brought ſlaves, ſkins, and cattle, to barter with the Greeks for cloth, wine, and the manufactures of their country, ſuch as they were in thoſe days, while they were ſupplied by the Mæotides who dwelt on both ſides the Palus Mæotis,

Mæotis, or Sea of Aſoff, with grain and other proviſions for ſimilar goods.

We hear little of this ſettlement in the time of the Romans, although it makes a great figure in the Euxine trade when in poſſeſſion of the Venetians.

I have already taken notice of the India goods that they received from the Golden Horde by the way of the Volga and Don; for which they returned, by way of barter, wine, oil, and olives, with not only all the manufactures of their own country, but likewiſe thoſe of the other ſtates of Italy, which had now acquired many of the arts of the Eaſt, that the Orientals had kept ſecret with much care, and by that means furniſhed Europe for ages. For example: Venice had the addreſs, in the beginning of the twelfth century, to obtain from Egypt the valuable ſecret that it had ſo long monopolized, of making coloured glaſs, by which the republic now gained immenſe ſums. Some of the other ſtates had in the ſame manner obtained the Oriental ſecret of dyeing ſilk, and had already brought their brocades to rival thoſe of Damaſcus. The art of embroidering them with gold and ſilver had likewiſe got into Italy, where, indeed, they heſitated at nothing that might enable them to acquire the more lucrative and rich branches of manufacture, as they in this caſe carried off, by force, ſome workmen ſkilled in the buſineſs, from the iſland of Eubea, now Negropont, in the Greek Archipelago.

In ſhort, Venice was enabled at the time when the Golden Horde were ſettled in the Kaptchak, and carried on the India trade, to ſupply the Tartars with a number of European luxuries, in exchange for thoſe of the Eaſt, which they probably carried with them to Smaracand, and the other commercial cities which they frequented, after keeping what they wanted for their own conſumption, and the Southern provinces of Ruſſia.

In taking leave of this Venetian colony, I ſhall juſt mention, that it was deſtroyed by Tamerlane becauſe it unfortunately ſtood in his

way when croſſing the Don to chaſtiſe the Golden Horde, which he nearly exterminated, and left them afterwards an eaſy conqueſt to Ruſſia. It muſt likewiſe be noticed, that at preſent the port of Aſoff, once ſo much frequented, is become ſo nearly inacceſſible, from a bank of ſand formed at its mouth, that ſhips frequent the other ports of the Mæotis, more eſpecially Taganrog, by far the largeſt and beſt.

[Thus far Mrs. Guthrie had written on her Tour to the Taurida; but, having ſince made another journey for her health, and ſpent a Summer at the new cannon foundery of Lugan on the Donetz, near Taganrog, ſhe made an excurſion to that ſea port; and, of courſe, ſome deſcription of it will come with propriety into her remarks upon thoſe countries.]

The port of Taganrog carries on a very conſiderable trade with Conſtantinople, and the Greek Archipelago, in different articles of merchandiſe; and is employed in ſhip-building by the Ruſſian government, who can here purchaſe veſſels ready for ſea much cheaper than it can build them in its own docks. Their exportation conſiſts of iron, tallow, cordage, preſſed caviar, ſalt-petre, Ruſſian leather, ſail-cloth, hemp, and Ruſſian linen fabrics, briſtles, and furs; but their principal articles are corn and butter, in great demand in Conſtantinople and the Archipelago. Of the firſt they make a great profit, as it ſells at Taganrog, in good ſeaſons, at 3 roubles per coul of wheat, weighing 7½ poods (36 pounds Engliſh to a pood), and at Conſtantinople often as high as 25 piaſtres the malter of 5 couls; though the freight thither is only 1 rouble 65 copeaks per coul; ſo that the North ſhore of the Euxine ſtill continues to be the granary of the Turks, though not from the ſame ports as formerly. Butter is a ſecond article fully as lucrative as wheat, and was antiently furniſhed in great quantities from Caffa, or Theodocia, the produce of the Nogay Tartar hordes; but ſince the diſperſion of that famous tribe, now dwindled down to a comparatively ſmall number, the butter trade had been almoſt loſt, till the enter-

priſing

priſing Ruſſian merchants found means to procure it from Siberia in the annual iron barks which bring down that metal by the Volga, from whence it is tranſported to the Don, and falls down that laſt river in ſmall boats to the Aſoff Sea, at the trifling additional expence of from 13 to 20 copeaks per pood; ſo that the total charge of tranſport is from 135 to 140 copeaks, and the coſt of the article in all 7 roubles per pood, melted in barrels; while it ſells for 19 or 20 at Conſtantinople. However, all this commerce is carried on in foreign bottoms, Ruſſian merchant ſhips being nearly as ſcarce on the Euxine and Mæotis as on the Baltic; but the foreign veſſels take care to be under the Ruſſian flag, as that makes a conſiderable difference (about a third) in the freight that they receive; for while the Ruſſian colours can paſs on to find a better market in the Greek iſlands, if that of Conſtantinople does not ſuit them, the native flag muſt not paſs the Turkiſh capital; and therefore the goods carried under it muſt be ſold for what the Conſtantinople merchants offer.

The balance of trade muſt be much in their favour; for, in return for all the exports mentioned above, though many are omitted in this haſty outline of the buſineſs, they only import ſome of the Greek wines, with Italian and Spaniſh dried fruits, marmalade, lemons, oranges, lemon-juice, and rum: add to this, ſome ſilk and cotton ſtuffs from Turkey, and galls for dyeing, and you have nearly their whole imports.

The third capital article, as ſaid above, is that of ready-built ſhips, ſome pierced for 40 and even 50 guns, carrying 36-pounders on their lower deck; which government purchaſes, by contract, for 150,000 roubles; a price for which they cannot build in the crown-docks. If, however, they draw more than 13½ feet, the depth of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, or Straits between the Mæotis and Euxine, they muſt be carried down to the laſt-mentioned ſea on camels (ſee my deſcription of thoſe conveyances in Letter II); although they would find depth enough in the Aſoff Sea, generally from

from 25 to 30 fathom all the way down from Taganrog to Kerch, a length of 350 verſts.

Though there ſeem to be no regular tides in the Euxine and Mæotis, more than in the Caſpian, ſtill certain winds and circumſtances conſpire occaſionally to give the water a range of a fathom in the port of Taganrog, four feet of riſe and three of fall; but all the advantages of this place ſuffer a drawback from the ſhallow ſtraits that lead to it, as juſt remarked, which oblige ſhips of burthen to take in only a certain quantity of goods here, ſo as to draw from 10 to 12 feet; and the reſt of their cargo at Theodocia when once got ſafely into the Euxine. As, however, large ſhips, even with this diſadvantage, anſwer the purpoſe of the freighters better than ſmall, they are generally for three-maſted veſſels navigated by at leaſt ten ſeamen. The paſſage, with a fair wind, is only about eight days to Conſtantinople; and the freight from one to two roubles the kintar (of 232 pounds ruſs); and inſurance five to ſix per cent. (but in ſtormy ſeaſons from 15 to 20, as no ſea is more dangerous, from ſudden ſqualls and Greek ſailors). In one thing the Sea of Aſoff reſembles our Finniſh Gulph, at leaſt in its upper part, where the water is much freſhened towards the mouths of the rivers; as it there freezes, and interrupts the navigation in Winter; nay, this likewiſe happens in ſevere ſeaſons to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, and ſhuts the paſſage entirely between the two ſeas. We ſhall now cloſe this ſubject by mentioning that the country round Taganrog is moſt fertile in corn and fruits; ſo that four or five crops of wheat may be drawn from it, without dung, in ſucceſſion; while it yields from 20 up to 38 for one in ſome years; and, at all times, ten for one is regarded as a barren ſeaſon. While we were there in the time of the annual fair, the variety of nations, garbs, and tongues, made it reſemble the Tower of Babel more than a European city, and produced a moſt curious motley maſquerade.

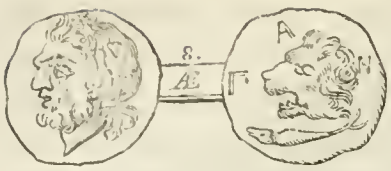
A beautiful young lady in company, being led by curioſity too near the gay ſhops to examine the various Aſiatic ſtuffs diſplayed in them,

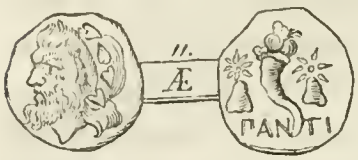
them, was ſurrounded by a groupe of men from the Caucaſian mountains, who all vociferated together in their different languages with ſo much noiſe and geſticulation, that ſhe was extremely frightened; although we were aſſured, by the Ruſſian commandant who accompanied us, that it was mere gallant admiration which produced the buſtle; and, giving his arm to the lady, he led her out of the circle, leaving the Circaſſians, Georgians, &c. &c. to ſettle among themſelves the diſpute about *what part of the world ſhe came from*; for that, it ſeems, was the ſubject in diſcuſſion, with a wager among them whether ſhe was married or ſingle, what was her age, &c. &c.; but, if ſhe had awaited the deciſion, it would have wearied out her patience indeed; as we were told that it laſted for ſome hours, and was only ended by our declaring to a deputation ſent to us, that her huſband was the gentleman whom they ſaw in a Ruſſian general's uniform; on which they touched the ground with their hands and retired.

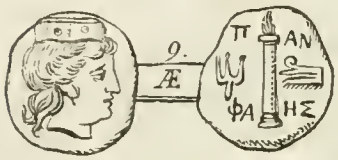
On the oppoſite (or European) ſide of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, the antient Panticapeos, now Kerch, is the firſt commercial city that preſents itſelf; which is ſaid to have carried on a great trade in antient times, although its own exports were chiefly fiſh and ſalt, from ſome lakes in its neighbourhood; a valuable article, not only for the Mæotid fiſhery, but likewiſe for thoſe on the coaſt of Aſia Minor; which, as I ſaid before, were but ſcantily ſupplied by ſome ſalt works on the river Halys in Paphlagonia.

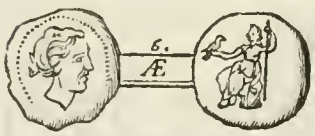
The next trading city in the Taurida, reckoning Weſt from the Cimmerian Boſphorus, was Theodocia, a place of great commerce even in the times of the Greeks,

if









if we may judge from the large exportation of grain in the time of Lecon II. 288 years before Mithridates conquered the country, when 330 millions of pounds of wheat were ſent to Athens at one time, as already related in the local hiſtory of the city.

The other exports of Theodocia, and indeed of Soudak and Cherſon, the other great trading places on the South coaſt of the Taurida, ſeem to have been, in all ages, honey, wax, butter, ſlaves, hides, and furs, eſpecially the Tauric lamb-ſkins, ever in high eſteem and requeſt. I am to be underſtood here as ſpeaking of the natural productions of the country; for, after the fall of the great Colchid emporium, Dioſcurius, or Sebaſtapolis, the Circaſſians brought here for exportation their horſes, fox and hare-ſkins, horſe leather, and women.

The Genoeſe likewiſe, while maſters of Caffa, greatly augmented the articles of exportation, by trading with the Golden Horde; and although we nowhere find a detailed account of what theſe goods were, yet we may form a probable conjecture by recapitulating the articles which another race of Tartars brought to Aſtracan, Aſoff, and the Taurida, at a later period, from the very country to which the Golden Horde traded.

The Bucharian Tartars, during the Turkiſh dominion in the Euxine, brought to theſe places, gold and ſilver duſt found in the rivers of Bucharia; lapis lazuli, pearls, cotton, muſlins, ſilks,

[173] All theſe are rare coins of the antient capital of the kingdom of Boſphorus, the Panticapaiton of the Greeks, and Panticapeum of the Romans.

cotton

cotton ſtuffs, nitre, ſal ammoniac, lamb-ſkins[174], rhubarb, Bucharian rice, dry fruits, ſpiceries, drugs, ſaffron, ſulphur, bitumen, and Perſian ſilk, which I have mentioned laſt, as probably a later article; for we ſhould hardly have remained ſo long without a knowlege of the ſilk-worm, and been obliged to bring the eggs from China to Conſtantinople, if the inſect had been common in Perſia, with which the Eaſtern Cæſars had much intercourſe. All the other kinds of goods may have been ſuch as the Mongul Tartars of the Golden Horde dealt in, as both brought them from the ſame country, viz. from Bucharia in general, and Smaracand in particular, one of its principal cities.

Cherſon and the other commercial cities on the South coaſt of the Taurida, I have already ſaid, exported much the ſame articles as Caffa, when in turn they poſſeſſed the principal trade, and for a time gave their name to the peninſula, during the zenith of their mercantile glory; but Eupatoria, or Koſlaf on the Weſt, ſeems principally to have ſubſiſted by the exportation of the ſalt of its lakes, and a couple of antient manufactures, the one of leather, the other of Scythian carpets, deſcribed in my Letters from that city.

[174] The lamb-ſkins mentioned in the text are a very antient branch of commerce with the Tartars, and not only the Bucharian, but ſome other hordes, take much pains to beautify this fur even on the back of the animal. As ſoon as a lamb is dropped by a ſheep of this kind (the Ovis Dolichura of Pallas), it is immediately ſewed up in a ſort of coarſe linen ſhirt, to keep up a conſtant and gentle preſſure on the fine wool; while warm water is poured over the animal every day, ſo as to make it ſoft and ſleek; and, in a word, to lay the fleece, in beautiful gloſſy ringlets, ſomething reſembling ſilk damaſk, gradually letting out the bandage in proportion as the lamb augments in ſize. The Ovis Taurica of Pallas is treated in the ſame manner, to prepare the fine *blue* fur, as it is called, which ſells at ſo high a price, for Poliſh bonnets, muffs, Winter peliſſes, &c. in the North of Europe.

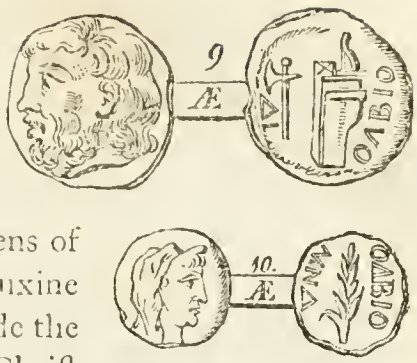
[175] Theſe two medals have each only the three firſt letters of the city of Cherſon for inſcription. ——The city of Cherſon is known by the figure of Diana on the obverſe, whoſe famous Tauric temple ſtood cloſe by it, and a griffin, the emblem of this city, as well as of Panticapeum.

LETTER XC.

IN purſuing the ſubject of the Euxine commerce, advancing regularly along the North coaſt of the Black Sea, in the direction that I am following, gradually Weſt from Phanagoria, (or Taman, as it was lately called,) I ſhould certainly ſay a few words on Killbourn in paſſing, before I croſs the Liman of the Dnieper (the Sinus Sagaricus of the Antients), to reach the antient colonies on the main land, becauſe Formaleoni includes it among them; but in all my own reading I find no mention made of it, from the time when it acquired its appellation of the Dromos Achilleos, from the equeſtrian games celebrated there to the manes of that hero; ſo that I have nothing more to remark upon it, than that it ſeems for ages to have been the ſite of a fort, to command the gulph, or Liman, on which it ſtands, and is made that uſe of at preſent by the Ruſſians.

In mounting the river Boryſthenes, or the Dnieper, we come to

the great commercial Greek city named by the Mileſians, its founders, Olbia and Olbiopolis, or The Happy; to which reſorted the Scythians, and other Northern hordes, to



to trade with the Grecian coloniſts ſettled there as early as the time of [176] Herodotus, who ſeems to have acquired a ſurpriſing portion of juſt information concerning theſe countries and its inhabitants, from the citizens of Olbio, and the other Greeks on the Euxine coaſt. We are well aſſured, that he made the Tour in perſon about 460 years before Chriſt (for he read the firſt part of his hiſtory at the olympic games in 453 A. C.) ; as he expreſsly ſays, in his IVth Book, when beginning his deſcription of the countries on the North ſhore of the Euxine, that he is now going to relate *what he ſaw with his own eyes ;* and, indeed, no one who had not been on the ſpot could have collected ſuch a maſs of curious and authentic information ; it really aſtoniſhed me on conſidering it with attention ; and I ſhall here give a few ſpecimens of it.

In treating of the fiſhery in the Boryſthenes, Herodotus deſcribes the famous Ruſſian Belingo (the Accipenſer Huſſo of Linnæus) by marks that would make it known to a naturaliſt of the 18th century ; as he calls it "a monſtrous large fiſh, without dorſal fins."

We next receive the firſt hint of the Ruſſian hemp manufactory, which ſeems to have taken origin here in the paſtoral ſtate ; for he ſays, "that the Scythian *cultivators*, who dwelt on the N. E. ſide " of the Boryſthenes, (the reſt of the Scythians were paſtoral no- " mades) cultivated not only corn, but likewiſe hemp, from which

[176] Three Coins* ſtruck in the famous Grecian commercial city of Olbiopolis, or Olbio, The Happy, on the river Boryſthenes.

* Beſide the three Coins given here, there are two more in the cabinet of Baron Aſh in our Cadet Corps, exactly the ſame as fig. 9, except the name of the magiſtrate, or mint-maſter ; which, inſtead of the letters ΔΙ as in fig. 9, has ΕΥΞ on one, and ΜΕ on the other ; both on the reverſe, beſide the battle-axe and quiver.

" they made cloth, that would paſs on thoſe ignorant of the fact " for linen made of flax."

I was again ſurpriſed to find, in the manner that the Scythians bathed themſelves, (for nothing ſeems to have eſcaped this accurate obſerver,) the firſt rude ſketch of the Ruſſian bath, which appears likewiſe to have taken origin in the wilds of Scythia.

He ſays, " that they threw red-hot ſtones into a tub of water " ſtanding in a tent, and received the hot ſteam on their naked " bodies:" exactly the Ruſſian vapour bath, with the ſole difference, that now, when they live in towns, they perform the ſame operation in a wooden room, inſtead of a felt tent. But what is ſtill more ſurpriſing than all the reſt, is, the accurate account that Herodotus collected relative to the Ruſſian climate, from what he calls Hyperboreans, probably ſome of the Northern hordes come down the Dnieper to the market of Olbia, to which there ſeems to have reſorted a vaſt concourſe of people every Summer from diſtant parts, to barter the natural productions of their country for Grecian goods.

He tells us in his IVth Book, which contains all the curious information quoted in this work relative to theſe countries, that he learned from them,

" Firſt, That they have eight months Winter, during which long " period it ſeldom rains; but the ground is covered with ſnow, and " even the ſea freezes.

" Secondly, That if water be thrown on the ground it freezes " immediately, without producing mud or dirt; for nothing but fire can produce mud at that ſeaſon."

N. B. The Greeks, his countrymen, laughed at his account of the North as a fable, particularly at the ſtory of the ſea freezing; ſo that this great man has been the ſport of the ignorant in all ages.

" Thirdly, That thunder, ſo common in Greece in Winter, is " never heard in that ſeaſon.

" Fourthly,

" Fourthly, That their Summer is rather ſhort and wet[177].

" Fifthly, That they are exempt from earthquakes.

" Sixthly, That aſſes and mules will not live in their country, " though horſes thrive very well.

" Laſtly, That their cows have either ſhort horns, or are without " them altogether."

Now I defy the moſt able Naturaliſt at the end of the 18th century to define in a more maſterly manner, *in as few words*, the climate of Ruſſia[178], than is here done by the firſt Greek hiſtorian, upwards of 2000 years ago.

I ſhall conclude theſe intereſting quotations with remarking, that if the ſagacious Greek deſcribed other countries as accurately as he has done thoſe through which I have travelled, and made his obſervations upon them with equal judgement, his hiſtory muſt always become more valuable, in proportion as we acquire an intimate knowledge of them ourſelves; and I will take this opportunity of ſaying, that, much as we are obliged to the grammarians for the ſhare they had in the revival of learning, yet they ſeem to have forgotten the ſage advice of Apelles, when they ſneered at Herodotus, Ariſtotle, and Pliny, on ſubjects out of their ſphere of knowledge; as theſe antient authors are riſing every day higher in our eſteem, in proportion as we make progreſs in natural hiſtory.

The virulent attack of Plutarch, which ſeems to have encouraged others, every body ſhould know, was merely a perſonal quarrel

[177] Herodotus divides the Ruſſian year into only two ſeaſons, including Spring and Autumn in Winter; which is very judicious in the North, where the intermediate ſeaſons are feebly marked; and in that point of view eight months of Winter and four in Summer is exactly true. However, I ſhall ſhow in Letter XCIX. that this deſcription of the climate was, in all probability, applicable to the South of Ruſſia in his time, though now only to the North of Moſco.

[178] The Editor, who has expreſsly written on the Ruſſian climate, acknowledges, that he has ſaid nothing ſo juſt and characteriſtic in ſo ſmall a compaſs; and that if he had recollected at the time the above paſſage of Herodotus, he certainly ſhould have been proud to place it at the head of his Diſſertation publiſhed in the ſecond volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

between

between the two writers; for Plutarch acknowledges, that he thinks himſelf bound in honour to reſcue the memory of his anceſtors from the calumny of Herodotus, who had ſaid in his hiſtory, "that the Bœotians and Corinthians not only betrayed the common "cauſe of the Greeks, by ſubmitting to Xerxes, but even fought "againſt them at the battle of Platea:" and, to gain his cauſe, Plutarch employed the common expedient of all good advocates up to the preſent day; viz. to invalidate the evidence of the father of hiſtory by throwing a ſtigma on his veracity in other things.

I ſhall make no apology for this effuſion of gratitude in favour of a man to whom I am ſo much obliged, but go on with my commercial ſurvey, by telling you, that the antient city of Olbia, as ſaid in a former Letter, ſtood in the angle formed by the Inguletz falling into the Dnieper, and carried on a great trade in corn, ſlaves, and fiſh caught in the Boryſthenes, eſpecially the Belingo juſt deſcribed by Herodotus, the largeſt of the ſturgeon ſpecies, which produces the Ruſſian caviar in larger quantities than any other; ſometimes as far as five poods, or 180 Engliſh pounds, when the fiſh is at its greateſt ſize.

As we are not informed of the other articles exported from this place by the Greeks, I ſhall ſupply that omiſſion by mentioning thoſe which at preſent come down the river to Cherſon; and, as they are all the *natural* productions of the banks of the Boryſthenes, or of the river itſelf, it is more than probable, that they are ſtill the ſame goods which antiently came to Olbia by the ſame channel. Indeed, Herodotus enumerates the moſt of them as the productions of the country in his time. They are, grain, hemp and its oil, flax, tallow, butter, wool, wax, honey, wood, pitch, tar, leather, preſſed caviar (ſturgeon roe), hog's briſtles, peltry; with three other articles which I ſhall place by themſelves, as probably more modern; viz. iron, copper, and tobacco; the laſt certainly not cultivated then; and I have my doubts whether the two metals were diſcovered in the North at ſo early a period.

Almoſt

Almoſt oppoſite to Olbia ſtood the city of Sardenis of Strabo, on the Bog, or the Axiacus of the Antients; but reſpecting its commerce we have no information.

The city of Ochakoff, the Odeſſus of the Antients, and Odu of the Turks (which ſeems a contraction of the ſame name), appears to have been a place of commerce; and its good port makes the aſſertion very probable. We are likewiſe told the ſame of the city of Axia, on the neighbouring river Berezen, the Sagaris of the Antients; but what their trade conſiſted in, I know not.

In purſuing this intereſting inquiry, we muſt now advance to the Dnieſter; where there ſtood another great commercial city called *Tyras*, after the antient name of the river. It ſeems to have been originally built by the Greeks at the mouth of the river; although we learn from Strabo, that in the time of the Romans, when it was become a famous market, the city was tranſported to the iſland Tyras Getes, 15 miles higher up, and that the river was navigable ſo far. Strabo and Pliny ſpeak of two more cities on the banks of the Tyras, nearly oppoſite to one another; viz. Niconia and Oſiuſa, both places of trade; but with regard to the merchandiſe that they exported, only two articles are mentioned, corn and ſlaves, which ſeem to have been the ſtaple commodities of this coaſt; although there can be little doubt that the productions of the countries watered by the Dnieper found their way down to the Greek markets, in exchange for foreign goods, which men have ever deſired in all ages, even to the ſavages diſcovered by late circumnavigators.

Before quitting the North coaſt of the Euxine, where we find the ſlave trade exiſting at ſo early a period (the great topic of diſpute in our own times), it may be worth while to obſerve, that Strabo, like ſome of our modern philoſophers, aſſerts that it was introduced by the more poliſhed nations; and is particularly ſevere on the Greeks for having corrupted the ſimple manners of the Abien, or milk-

eating,

eating, Scythians, as he calls them, given them artificial wants, and taught them the traffic in ſlaves to ſatisfy them: exactly the accuſation brought at the end of the 18th century againſt the poliſhed nations of Europe, particularly the Engliſh. This, however, is more plauſible than true; for, although the Scythians may have had no market for their ſlaves before the Greeks furniſhed one, yet we know, from Herodotus, that all the men of conſequence, of paſtoral property among them, were ſerved by ſlaves long before the arrival of the Greeks in the Euxine; nay, the well-known ſtory of the manner in which the Scythians vanquiſhed their ſlaves, who had ſeized on their wives and flocks, during a long expedition into Aſia, confirms the fact; viz. by attacking them with their whips, the common inſtrument of their correction, which quickly reminded them of their ſervile condition, and brought them to a ſenſe of their duty to their maſters; while ſome antient authors ſtill go farther, and aſſert, that thoſe ſlaves deſtined for the domeſtic drudgery of milking the Scythian cattle, were deprived of ſight, to make them more attentive to that duty, and give up all thoughts of eſcape; ſo that thoſe ſurely could not be intended for the Grecian market.

On the other hand, it is certain, that the Greeks, Romans, and all the poliſhed nations of antiquity, were ſerved by ſlaves, whom they uſed harſhly enough, while they themſelves made the bleſſing of liberty their common theme[179]. Nay, ſuch has been the inconſiſtent conduct of men in all ages, that we have ſeen in our own times thoſe who talked loudeſt of liberty, and the rights of the

[179] We are told by Plutarch, in his Life of Cato the Cenſor, that this famous republican recommended to ſell old ſlaves paſt the age of labour, and not to feed uſeleſs people; and endeavoured to keep up eternal ill blood among thoſe unhappy men who had the misfortune to belong to himſelf, leſt, if friendſhip reigned among them, they ſhould plot againſt their tyrannic maſter, who beat them ſeverely when his company were gone, if any thing was wrong at table.

human

human ſpecies while oppreſſed themſelves, become the moſt terrible oppreſſors in turn, when they acquired the power of making their countrymen free, and realizing their favourite form of government.

LETTER XCI.

FROM the North I muſt now draw your attention to the Weſt coaſt of the Black Sea; that is to ſay, from the Danube down to the antient Byzantium, or Conſtantinople [180].

The Greek colonies founded on this ſhore I have already enumerated in my former ſurvey of it, when ſpeaking of their original ſettlement there; and, as to the particular commerce that they carried on, no detail is to be found in the authors whom I have conſulted, although I ſhould be inclined to think that the articles of antient barter could not be very different from thoſe ſtill brought down the rivers to the few ports now carrying on ſome trade under Turkiſh oppreſſion; ſuch as *Kilia Nova*, near the antient Tomé; and *Verna*, a ſecond city in the Euxine which bore the name of Odeſſus in antiquity. Theſe two places export corn, wine, wool, leather, dried fruits, &c. all the productions of the country in every age.

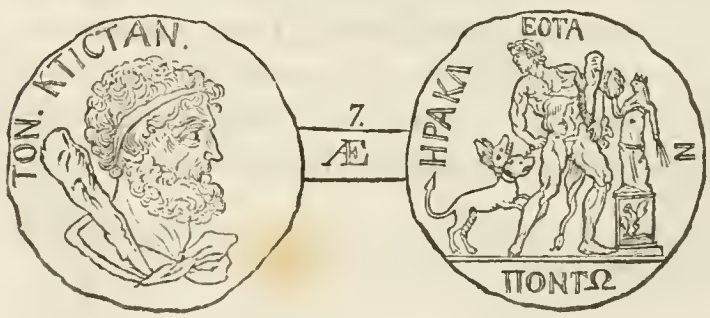
[180] For the Medals belonging to theſe trading cities, from the Danube down to Byzantium, ſee Letter LXXVII. where mention is made of them and ſketches of the Coins given.

Being now arrived at the antient Byzantium, built about 722 years before Chriſt, and ſo often mentioned in this Tour by its later name of Conſtantinople, I ſhall only remark on its commerce, that it often ſerved as an emporium for the Euxine and Mæotid goods, particularly thoſe from the Eaſt Indies; and as a general market, where the coloniſts at large could always purchaſe ſuch as they had occaſion for in return, when their ſhips were not deſtined for a longer voyage.

From this antient capital of the Roman Cæſars, I ſhall now paſs over the Thracian Boſphorus, to take a view of the commerce of the numerous colonies on the coaſt of Aſia Minor; as, in beginning the ſubject there, I only talked of the Greek fiſhery from Sinope to Trapezius as the foundation of their trade.

I ſhall commence with the Greek ſettlements on the coaſt of Bithynia, at the mouths of the rivers Pſylis, Calpe, and Sangaris, which never ſeem to have greatly proſpered, from being kept in conſtant alarms by the warlike Bithynians, their neighbours, as well as by the Meyſians; ſo that their commerce makes no great figure in the books which I have conſulted. However, this was not the caſe with Heraclea, ſaid to have been founded by Hercules, whom the poets deſcribe as dragging Cerberus out of Hell through an opening in the promontory Acheruſia, on which the city ſtands.

That powerful colony proſpered in a moſt extraordinary manner, probably from the ſuperior ſecurity of its ſituation; and augmented its population ſo quickly, as to be enabled, as we have already ſhewn, to make a

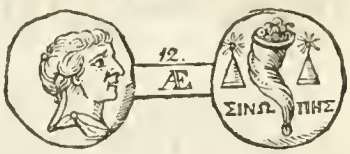


new

new ſettlement in the Heraclea Cherſoneſus of the Taurida, and attempt another on the Weſt coaſt of the Euxine, which only a want of a proper ſpot made abortive, after a melancholy experiment to effect it.

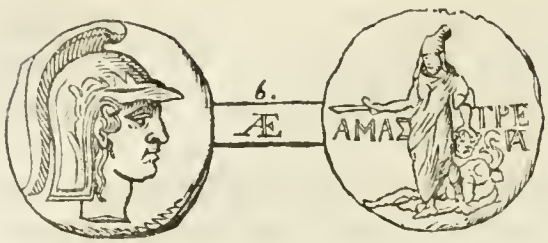
This city was afterwards the reſidence of David Commenus, while his brother, one of the three Greek emperors, whoſe diviſion gave the empire to the Turks, made Trapezius, or Trebiſond, his capital; and it is ſtill a place of ſome note under its modern Turkiſh name of *Eracle*, derived moſt evidently from its antient; or rather, as I have remarked before, the name of this and many other of the Greek cities on the Euxine, are preſerved by the Turks, and only pronounced in their way.

But the moſt ſplendid ſettlement on this coaſt was the flouriſhing colony of Sinope, now *Sinub*[181], which boaſted of being founded by a companion of Jaſon during the Argonautic expedition.



The projecting cape of Carambis, oppoſite the Criu Motopon, or Ram-head, of the Taurida, divided this ſettlement into two parts. On the Weſt ſide of it ſtood four cities, Egialum, Cromna, Cytorus, now Kudroſs, and Seſamus; but the firſt three were thrown into one large city by the wife of Denis, tyrant or prince of Heraclea, who gave it her own name Amaſtris, now called Amaſreeh by the

[181] I have already given in Letter LXXXV. ſeveral autonomatic coins of the great Euxine city of Sinope, the birth-place of the hero Mithridates Eupator, and mother of the two other Euxine cities, Trapezius and Ceraſus, the native country of the cherry. This coin is likewiſe given becauſe it refers to the fabulous origin of Sinope by the Dioſcurias, or Caſtor and Pollux, during the Argonautic expedition to Colchis. Accordingly, on the reverſe we find a cornu-copia placed between the caps of theſe two demi-god heroes ſurmounted each by a ſtar, as they were afterwards placed among the conſtellations.



[182]

[183]

Turks, according to their pronunciation of its antient Greek name. On the Eaſt ſide of the ſame promontory this colony had their capital Sinope, afterwards the birth-place and tomb of the great Mithridates, moſt conveniently ſituated, both for trade and dominion, in the neck or iſthmus of a peninſula, which gives it the uncommon advantage of a port on each ſide. They had likewiſe on the ſame ſide the ſmaller cities of Cinolis, now Kinoli, with Anticinolis, Muroſolon, and Armenes.

The commerce of all the colonies mentioned above, beſide the produce of their fiſheries, ſeems to have conſiſted in exporting wood for ſhip-building; with box-wood, in great demand in Europe before the introduction of foreign ebony; olives, and their oils; ſalt from the river Hayles, probably to the more diſtant fiſheries on the ſame coaſt; and, laſtly, fine wool, with the famous Angora goat hair; ſo precious in all ages, as to be ſuſpected by ſome to be the real golden fleece of which the Greeks went in ſearch.

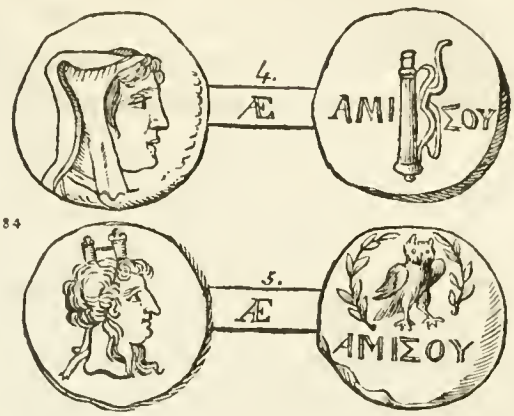
The great fair of theſe colonies, particularly of the ſettlements dependent on Sinope, was held in the antient city of Cytorus, now *Kudroſs*, which the Greeks, in their uſual fabulous ſtyle, pretended to have been founded by Cytorus, ſon of Phrixus, during the

[182] The medal, Fig. 7, bearing the name of Ameſtris on the obverſe, and that of Sebaſte, or the Auguſt, on the reverſe, is the only coin which ſhews that this city ever bore that proud title.

[183] This medal of Cromna ſeems to confirm what ſome think is the meaning of Strabo, that this city, as well as Seſamus Cytorum and Tium, only furniſhed Ameſtris a part of its inhabitants, but was not incorporated into the new city of the Heraclean Princeſs, afterwards the reſidence of the kings of Paphlagonia.

Argonautic

Argonautic expedition; and it is certain, at leaſt, that they named it after him, by way of giving it a precedency on the ſcore of antiquity, like ſeveral other cities on this coaſt.



We next come to the colony of Amiſus, one of the moſt happy and permanent of the whole; as it chiefly ſubſiſted by agriculture and the rearing of cattle, in the rich lands on the Thermodon[185], the moſt ſolid and ſtable of all revenues, as not being affected by many circumſtances which have an influence on commerce. We accordingly not only find it a place of conſequence in the days of Strabo, but ſo rich and flouriſhing, by the patronage and ſucceſſive embelliſhments of the Athenians, Mithridates, Eupator, and the princes of Cappadocia, that it drew the attention and tempted the avidity of the Roman general Lucullus, ſo famous in the records of elegance and luxury, who took and plundered it, although it was afterwards reſtored to the rank of a free city by Auguſtus.[184]

The laſt time that we read of Amiſus in claſſic authors, is, when Pompey joined it to another Eupatoria, which had received its name from the cognomen of Mithridates, who gave the two cities, thus united, his own, in that of Pompeiopolis.

Next comes the city of Amaſia, now Amaſieh, on the river Iris, the antient capital of Pontus, and birth-place of the famous geographer Strabo. It was the

[184] The owl on the reverſe of this medal of Amiſus confirms, that the Athenians ſent a colony thither, as reported by Strabo, though originally founded by the Mileſians.

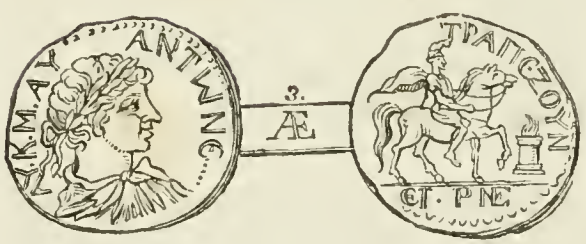
[185] The river Thermodon was famous in antiquity for watering the lands of the Amazons; as a part of that female community are ſaid to have dwelt on its banks, before the ſettlement of the colony of Amiſus.

reſidence

reſidence of the kings of Cappadocia in antient times; and in modern, of the eldeſt ſon of the Grand Seignior till called to the throne.

Amaſia traded to great advantage at all times with the produce of its lands, and was celebrated for its fine fruit, which it likewiſe exported to a great amount, and does ſo ſtill.

LETTER XCII.



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WE now come to Trapezius, known to the Turks by its middle-age name of Trebiſond; a colony that will yield to none founded by the Greeks. Xenophon tells us, that when he ſtopped here in his celebrated retreat with the ten thouſand, both Trapezius and Ceraſus, now Kereſoun, (from which Lucullus afterwards imported the cherry into Europe,) paid tribute to Sinope, and, of courſe, was under its protection. This was a place of great trade in all ages, although it began, like many other of the Greek ſettlements, by exporting fiſh; for it ſoon found means to add iron, and even the precious metals, which they obtained from their neigh-

186 This is one of the three *Imperial* medals given in this Tour: all the others were ſtruck while the cities were free.

bours

bours the Chaldeans, then the moſt expert miners and workers in iron of the Weſt; nay, thoſe of them who dwelt neareſt to the ſea-coaſt had even obtained the name of Chalybde from their dexterity in this laſt art.

The port of Trapezius was repaired by Adrian, and the city by Juſtinian, as is ſtill to be ſeen by an inſcription over one of its gates; although the fact has eſcaped the notice of the hiſtorian Juſtin, who is, in general, ſo exact in recording every thing done by his imperial maſter which could redound to his honour. During the middle ages, the Venetians, and their ſucceſſors the Genoeſe, had moſt flouriſhing colonies here, from which they carried on a great trade; and the laſt of the two republics even built a new harbour to the fine city, although their tyrannic uſurping conduct in the Taurida at laſt armed the other colonies of Aſia Minor againſt them, and loſt them Trebiſond as it was then called.

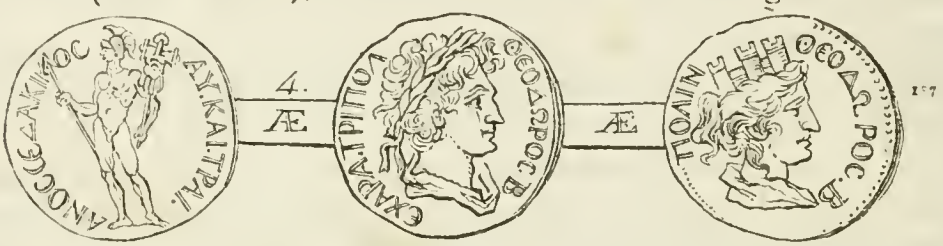
As to its extended commerce, we know that it not only cut a great figure in remote antiquity, but likewiſe during the whole middle ages, and was for a time the emporium of the Eaſt India trade, and long the common depoſitary of the Chriſtians in the neighbouring countries, who brought their merchandize to be ſold and exported from this place; eſpecially the Armenians, once a moſt enterpriſing and commercial people, who had almoſt the whole Perſian trade in their hands for a great length of time, and ſtill retain a good part of it.

Laſtly, it became the ſeat of one of the three ſub-diviſions of the Eaſtern Roman empire, where the family of the Comneni reigned from 1204 till 1461, when they were involved in the general ruin brought on all the pretenders to the throne of the Cæſars, by their fooliſh diſputes, which delivered them into the hands of Mahomet the great; weak and impotent from their diviſions, like the princes of Ruſſia when conquered by the Tartars; while both empires would have reſiſted the attacks of the barbarians, had each been under a ſingle ſceptre, and not already tottering on the brink of deſtruction

deſtruction by bloody civil wars, which rendered them an eaſy prey to the firſt invader.

On taking leave of this important place, I ſhall juſt remark, that the celebrated botaniſt Tournefort collected here, and in his travels through Aſia Minor, in ſearch of plants, ſome fine medals commemorating the ſplendour of this city, under its antient name of Trapezius, and its more recent appellation of Trebiſond.

There were ſtill ſome diſtinguiſhed cities on each ſide of Trapezius, which deſerve to be mentioned before I quit this coaſt and the ſubject of the Euxine commerce: ſuch as Boona and Jaſonium, which ſtill preſerve their antient names; Polemonium (now Vadiſa), ſo called after its ſovereign Polemon,



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placed on the throne of Pontus by Marc Anthony; Caralla (now Kierali); Tripolis (now Tireboli); Zepherium (now Zafra), &c. all to the Eaſt of Trebiſond; while to the Weſt of it we find Rhiſæum (now Rizeh);

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Athenæ (now Athenah), a city whoſe name has puzzled ſome geographers, under the idea of its being in ſome way connected with that of Athens, which they cannot account for; but, in my opinion, they need not go ſo far for an explanation, as it may have been named after Æthes, king of Colchis, and father of Medea; although certainly the great commercial republic traded to the

187 An Imperial medal of Trajan, ſtruck in the fortified city of Tripolis in Pontus.

188 An Imperial medal of Commodus, ſtruck in the city of Amaſia, after its ſubjection to the Romans.

Euxine;

Euxine; and ſurely the Athenians, who beautified the city of Amiſus on this coaſt, may have built Athenæ.

Being now arrived at the kingdom of Colchis, on whoſe trade we have already treated, I have finiſhed the commercial circuit of the Euxine propoſed in taking up the ſubject, and thrown all the light upon it that was in my feeble power, probably in a different manner from profeſſional gentlemen who compoſe works on commerce, but ſtill in ſuch a form as beſt ſuited the plan and purpoſe of my Tour. Of the part of the circuit of its coaſts which I did not examine in perſon, I have merely given the antient geography, as I only treat of its antient ſtate, while it beſt explains, in my opinion, the modern names of places, merely corruptions of the antient in the mouths of barbarians who cannot pronounce them better; this is ſtrictly the caſe on the coaſt of Aſia Minor in particular, where the Turks ſeem to have been contented with the poſſeſſion of the antient Greek and Roman cities, without naming them anew in their own jargon, like the Tauric Tartars, Bulgarians, &c.

The Ruſſians have taken the wiſe meaſure of reſtoring the antient Greek names of the cities lately come under their ſceptre [89], after having been for ages diſguiſed under Kozar and Mongul names, which have given much trouble to the geographer who wiſhed to identify them.

[89] Such an intention is certainly evident in the attempts that have been made; but it by no means follows, that the execution of the plan is equal to the intention; on the contrary, it appears to me, that Prince Potemkin had no one with him well acquainted with the antient ſtate of the country; and, accordingly, we only find three cities reſtored to their real antient names, viz. Lupatoria, Theodocia, and Phanagoria. My Map, however, will furniſh the reſt, if the Government chooſe to follow up the idea of reſtoring all.

LETTER XCIII.

Reasons for supposing the River Bog to have been the Axiacus of the Antients.

As my ſuppoſition, that the river Bog was the Axiacus of the Antients (inſtead of the Hypanis, as has been generally believed), makes a moſt eſſential change in the antient geography of the countries ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Jaſſy, and indeed in the whole tract between the Dnieſter and Dnieper, it is incumbent on me to ſtate my reaſons for this concluſion.

Firſt, it muſt be evident to all who have paid attention to the ſubject, that ſuppoſing the Bog to be the Hypanis throws into confuſion the whole antient geography of the countries above indicated, and renders all the claſſic authors unintelligible, by diſplacing the nations they ſpeak of, and by changing the dimenſions and courſe of ſome rivers; as muſt certainly be the caſe, when you are obliged to take one for another, by miſtaking the name of a leading river that determines the poſition and appellations of many; but, to make this truth more evident, I ſhall briefly ſtate what antient geographers ſay of the country in queſtion.

Firſt, Pomponius Mela obſerves, that the Hypanis limits the country of the Callipedæ, and that the neighbouring river, the *Axiacus*, runs between the Callipedæ and the Axiacæ, who are ſeparated from the Istrians by the Tyras, or Dnieſter; — a paſſage which

which evidently points out the Bog to be the Axiacus, and the Inguletz the Hypanis.

Secondly, Pliny fays, that the Tyras is 1300 paces diſtant from the Pſeudoſtomus, or fourth mouth of the Iſter, or Danube; then you come to the nation of the Axiacæ, who take their name from the river Axiacus, on which they dwell, and beyond which live the Chyrobyzi.

Thirdly, In the map publiſhed by Ortellius to illuſtrate the geography of this country by Ptolemy (the firſt of the Antients who applied aſtronomy to geography, and determined the poſition of places by their latitude and longitude), the Tyras is placed firſt, then the Axiacus, then the Chyrobyzes, and then the Boryſthenes, exactly as I have laid them down on the MAP given with this Tour.

Fourthly, Strabo tells us, in his VIIth Book, that the famous city of Olbio ſtood at the diſtance of 200 ſtades from the mouth of the Boryſthenes; and in the Peripl. Anonym. Olbio is placed at the ſame diſtance from the ſea, exactly on the ſpot where the Hypanis falls into the Boryſthenes. Now if we ſuppoſe the Bog to have been the Hypanis, the two laſt paſſages are unintelligible; for that river falls into the Dnieper, or Boryſthenes, very near its mouth, inſtead of at 200 ſtades, or 25 miles, diſtance from the Black Sea, as all the Antients aſſert; and conſequently the poſition of Olbio is ſtill unaſcertained.

But let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, the Bog to be the Hypanis, and where are we to find the *Axiacus*, which, all the Antients agree, ran between the Tyras and Hypanis? as there is nothing but rivulets in the ſpace thus pointed out (if we except the Bog); while Ptolemy tells us, that the Axiacus was a large river, running through Sarmatia, a little above Dacia; and ſeparating the Axiacæ from the Callipedæ, according to Pomponius Mela: as clear a deſcription of the Bog as it is poſſible to give, while it will by no means agree with any of the rivulets in the limited diſtrict: and Monſieur de Peyſonel adds to the above reaſons for regarding the Bog as the Axiacus, that the

Turks have actually preſerved its antient claſſic name in their modern appellation Akſou, pronounced in their manner; a merit which I have lately demonſtrated that they poſſeſs in a degree ſuperior to any other people that I know.

I ſhall now finiſh this ſubject, by remarking that whereas calling the Bog the Hypanis throws into confuſion the antient geography of the country that I have been ſpeaking of, the ſingle alteration (which I adopted from Mr. de Peyſſonel's Survey of the Diſtrict) of ſetting down that river as the Axiacus ſolves all difficulties, and all falls into its natural order, as deſcribed by the Roman geographers, who had colonies there, and of courſe were well acquainted with the ſpot; for, now, the Axiacus becomes the large river that Ptolemy deſcribes it, flowing through Sarmatia, while it ſeparates, as Mela ſaid, the Callipedæ, who dwelt to the North of it, from the Axiacæ, who lived on its South bank. Now likewiſe the Inguletz, which falls into the Boryſthenes exactly at 200 ſtades, or 25 miles, from its mouth, becomes the Hypanis, and points out the poſition of Olbio juſt where its ruins were ſeen by general Hanibal (as ſaid in a former Letter,) while he was governor of the Ruſſian Cherſon, about ten miles lower down the river. Laſtly, the Hypanis, now fixed in its proper poſition, incloſes the Callipedæ between it and the Axiacus, according to Pomponius Mela, while it ſeparates that nation from the Boryſthenitæ, as it ought to do, according to the antient geographers.

But this ſingle alteration that I have adopted equally ſettles the poſition of all the rivulets to the Eaſt, between the Bog (or Axiacus) and the Dnieſter (or Tyras), conformable to antient geography; for, now, the Gulph or Liman of Berezan becomes the Sinus Sagaricus, exactly where we are told to look for it; the rivulet Berezan becomes the Sagaris; and its other branch, Saſik Berezan, the Rhodus of antiquity; while the rivulet Deligheul becomes the *Lycus*, and the Atchily the *Benius* of Ovid.

SUPPLEMENT:

BY

THE EDITOR.

LETTER XCIV.

Tauric Ruins, Monuments, Greek Inscriptions, &c.

THE two Memoirs formerly mentioned, as having been ſo obligingly ſent to me by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, one in the Ruſſian, the other in the German language, will furniſh two or three more Letters (for I continue the epiſtolary form) to finiſh this Tour, and illuſtrate a very intereſting part of it; as they contain much information relative to the remains of antiquity ſtill exiſting in the antient kingdom of Boſphorus, more particularly on the ſhores of the Straits which join the Black and Aſoff Seas, known to the Antients by the name of the Cimmerian Boſphorus; but ſtill more abundant on the Aſiatic than the European ſide, eſpecially in the iſland of Taman, the Phanagoria of the Antients.

Mr. Marſhal Biberſtein, the author of theſe Memoirs, chiefly devotes that which he has written in the German language to Strabo's Geography of the Boſphorus; but, as I had already cited every thing that I thought neceſſary to illuſtrate our fair Traveller's modern deſcription of that kingdom[190], I ſhall not tranſlate that part

[190] The Editor did not receive the two Memoirs of the Academy, till after he had finiſhed the Lady's Tour to the Taurida and Boſphorus, and was employed on the Appendix; but, as Strabo had been always conſulted, there was the leſs to regret.

of

of his paper, nor fatigue the reader with unneceſſary repetitions, but confine myſelf to what he ſays of the antiquities of the country; a ſpecies of information the more deſirable, as it lay out of the Lady's province to collect it[191]; and we have not a line on the ſubject ſince the days of the Roman authors ſo often quoted in this work, who were themſelves in ſearch of the ruins of the more antient Greek cities and monuments, as we are now of thoſe deſcribed by them.

It is neceſſary however to remark, that the ſculptured monuments of the Taurida are by no means in a good ſtate of conſervation; the Greek inſcriptions which were originally meant to explain them are ſo much effaced, as rather to add to the labour of the antiquary than to diminiſh it; ſo that all is gueſs-work here, and offers a wide field for opinion.

Mr. de Biberſtein has not been backward in hazarding a few conjectures; and, as detached fragments are lawful game, I have likewiſe occaſionally amuſed myſelf in the ſame manner, and freely leave to every reader the ſame privilege.

Another eſſential piece of information is, that very few of theſe precious remains of antiquity are to be found in their original ſituations; for, from the want of building materials in the iſland of Phanagoria, together with the ignorance of the different hordes of barbarians who have for many ages occupied theſe countries, the ſame hewn ſtones cut by the Greeks for their public edifices, have been ſucceſſively employed, probably ſeveral times over, in every building ſince, whether Saracen, Gothic, or Tartar; nay, ſome of them are once more beginning to make a figure, poſſibly for the fourth or fifth time, in the barracks conſtructing by our Ruſſian ſoldiers in the iſland of Phanagoria.

It is thus that we muſt account for the ſtrange ſtraggling ſituations in which the Correſpondent of the Imperial Academy found the dif-

[191] See Letter LIX.

ferent

ferent monuments, &c. which he deſcribes. In one place, for example, he diſcovered ſome remains of Grecian columns, with their capitals, built into a Tartar tower; ſome ſculptured ſtones and Greek inſcriptions in another; an antient baſſo relievo in the wall of the commandant's court-yard; a ſecond peeping out of a gothic church wall; a third antient monument employed as a threſhold to the Ruſſian barracks; and in this manner are diſperſed, and appropriated to different uſes, all the Tauric antiquities mentioned in his Memoirs; while the remaining part of the ruined Greek edifices form a number of little hillocks, compoſed of the ſmaller ſtones and mortar, converted by time into ſhapeleſs heaps, after the larger hewn ſtones (highly valuable to unſkilful barbarians, probably neither furniſhed with tools nor ſkill to cut out new ones) had been carried away for the purpoſes in which we now find them employed.

I have little doubt that a number of curioſities might be diſcovered by digging into theſe heaps of rubbiſh, from my knowledge of the indolence of the Scythian or Tartar race, who probably never took the trouble to go deeper than the ſurface, in dilapidating theſe antient buildings of their faſhioned maſonry; nor would they undergo the labour for all the antiques in the world.

I ſhall now finiſh this little introduction to the Tauric monuments with ſome mention of another ſpecies of conic hills (for theſe heaps of rubbiſh aſſume a conic form) very common on the ſhores of the Boſphorus, eſpecially in the iſland of Taman, or Phanagoria, which ſeem to have been antient burying places; as they are found to contain antique urns when dug into by the curious.

I muſt own, that, on reading the deſcription of thoſe conic hillocks, I was ſtruck with their reſemblance, both in figure and contents, to the tumuli in the plain of Troy, as mentioned by the Abbé Chevalier in his intereſting Paper publiſhed in the IIId Volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of Edin-

burgh; and, as we know that this early mode of interment was diſuſed before the zenith of Grecian glory and poliſh, it was moſt probably introduced by the firſt Tauric coloniſts, the Mileſians, which gives a very high antiquity to theſe primitive earthen monuments.

I am much inclined to think, that the *conic* was the firſt ſepulchral form everywhere; for we find the wilds of Scythia ſtudded with ſuch earthen tumuli as the Abbé and Mr. Biberſtein deſcribe, with the ſole difference of their containing aſhes without urns; and the Weſt of Europe ſeems equally to have abounded with them in antient times, compoſed in general of *ſtones* inſtead of earth, probably from being ready at hand, which is by no means the caſe in the Scythian deſerts.

The places in Phanagoria that are pointed out in the Academic Memoir as being furniſhed with the urn tumuli, are, firſt, in the neighbourhood of the antient capital or city of Phanagoria; ſecondly, near where the Lake (Liman) Kiſeltaſhkoy falls into the Lake Cuban, antiently Corocondametis; thirdly, in the neighbourhood of the City Temruk; and, laſtly, ſeveral are ſaid to ſtand on the Aſiatic ſhore of the Cimmerian Boſphorus.

LETTER

LETTER XCV.

As I purpoſe dividing the Tauric monuments into two periods, according to what I think their comparative antiquity, I ſhall firſt mention three that appear to be at leaſt as old as the time of the Roman dominion in the Taurida, as the Roman Emperor is mentioned.

First Monument.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΡΙΣΑΔΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΣΠΑΡΤΑΚΟΥ ΛΕΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
ΓΕΡΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ . . . . ΤΟΣ
ΟΙ . . . . . ΡΙ . . . . . .

The tranſlation of this fragment by Mr. Biberſtein is: —— "During the reign of Pariſades, ſon of Spartacus, ſon of Leo- "ſtratus . . . . by his brother . . . . . ."

I ſhall only remark on this firſt monument and its tranſlation, that it is difficult to conceive who this king Pariſades, *ſon of Spartacus*, was; as Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Pariſades I. who ſucceeded Spartacus III. was his brother, not his ſon. He muſt then have been the ſon of Spartacus IV.; as after the death of that prince there is a chaſm in the Boſphoric hiſtory of 180 years; ſo that we neither know the names of his children nor of his ſucceſſor; but all is dark and myſterious, till we find the good Pariſades IV. on

the throne, who yielded it without a blow to Mithridates, rather than ſhed in a hopeleſs conteſt the blood of his beloved ſubjects, who had ſo often defended him againſt the Scythians.

This monument was ſeen by Mr. Biberſtein in a low wall, near the great gate of the old gothic church of Kerch, or the Panticapeos of the Greeks.

Second Monument.

. . IO . . ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΝΟΣ . . . . . ΚΑ . . . .
. . ΠΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΝΤΟ . . . . . .
. . ΗΤΟΣ ΒΟΟΣ ΠΟΡΟΥ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝΙ ΟΥΛΙΘ . . . . . .
. . Α ΤΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΡΗΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙ . . . . . .
. . ΣΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜ . . . . . .
. . ΝΤΑ ΤΑΚΑ-ΑΨΕΧΑΝΩ . . . . . ΝΟ . . . . . .
. . ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΕΥΣΑΝΤΝΟΣ ΚΑΟΙΙΡ . . . . . .
. . ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤ - ΣΤΑΙΙ.

The tranſlation which Mr. de Biberſtein has ventured to give (as conjecture) of this mutilated monument, found in the ruins of the antient city of Phanagoria, is as follows:

"To him who, with the aid of Poſeidon, engaged the ſublime "King of Kings to declare ſovereign of the Boſphorus, ... ſon "of King Riſco, friend of the Emperor and the Romans."

For my part, I can only make out Poſidonos, a name of Neptune, with that of Tiberius, and a king Reſkouporides; ſo that I ſhould ſuppoſe it to have been a monument dedicated to Neptune, and erected by Reſkouporides, in the reign of Tiberius, who, we know, was lord paramount of the kingdom of Boſphorus, although it was governed by its own kings, tributary to the Romans; and Reſkouporides may have been one of them, although his name is not found in our very imperfect liſt of theſe princes.

The

The foregoing conjecture is much ſtrengthened by a medal of this ſovereign in the collection of Baron Aſhe, which was found ſomewhere in the Taurida or Boſphorus; though, till I ſaw the above inſcription, I took it for a coin of a king of Thrace of the ſame name, well known to antiquaries.

The hiſtory of this antient kingdom, imperfectly as it is tranſmitted to us, ſhows its intimate connection with Thrace; and we even find, in reading the civil wars among the ſons of Spartacus II. that one of them, named Emulus, was ſupported in his claim to the throne by an army of 42,000 Thracians, led by their king Ariopharnes.

Third Monument.

. . . . . ΑΣΙΕΙΜΑ . . . . .
. . . . ΑΙΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝ . . . . . .
. . . . ΑΙΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΙΣΦΟΡΙΑΙΣ ΑΠΑΣΑΙΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ Β . . .
. . . . ΔΕΙΧΟΕΝΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΓΕΝΟΣΤΟΙ . . .
. . . . ΤΑΣ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΕΙ . .
. . . . ΜΕΡΑΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΕ ΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΓΟΝΩΝΜ . . . .

On this third monument, found, like the ſecond, in the ruins of Phanagoria, it is difficult even to hazard a conjecture, as it wants both the beginning and end of each line; it ſeems, however, to have been erected in honour of a man and his poſterity who had merited well of their country.

LETTER

LETTER XCVI.

The Sepulchral Monuments of the Bosphorus.

THE remaining Monuments mentioned in Mr. Biberſtein's two Memoirs ſeem to be of the ſepulchral kind, and not older than the Eaſtern Roman empire ; while the three former are undoubtedly of the claſſic times.

The author introduces his account of theſe monuments by the following obſervations, that are applicable to all, with reſpect to the ſtone out of which they are cut.

They are, in general, of a fine white ſolid marble, mixed with chryſtallized particles like alabaſter, of about one archine and a half long, and more than half an archine broad, (42 Engliſh inches by 14,) bearing commonly ſome human figures in baſſo-relievo, with an inſcription in dialectic Greek ; although we likewiſe find ſome of later ages on an inferior kind of white marble, like the famous Ruſſian monument lately found in Phanagoria, on which Gleb, prince of Tmutaracan[192], recorded his meaſurement of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, as already noticed in the Tour[193].

[192] Tmutaracan was the name by which the iſland of Phanagoria was known in Ruſſia while it was a province of this empire, although called *Tmutaracan* by the Byzantine authors, from which the Tartars ſeem to have derived their modern appellation of Taman, which in fact, is only a contraction of it.

[193] Letter LVII.

This

This inferior ſpecies, Mr. Biberſtein thinks, may have been found ſomewhere in the Boſphorus; while he regards the finer as a foreign marble, and the ſame with that employed by the Greeks in their own country for the precious monuments of antiquity which they have left us. Beſide the Boſphoric monuments in marble, there are ſome likewiſe in common ſtone.

Of the ſepulchral monuments in general, the author mentions three kinds diſtinguiſhable by the figures upon them.

The First Species of Basso-Relievo

Commonly contains a female figure in a long robe, with a child.

The Second Species,

A man on horſeback, with a child ſtanding by him.

The Third Species,

A man lying on a kind of bed, or couch, with a woman and child, one on each ſide of him.

With regard to what may be called the action of the figures in theſe three different kinds of baſſo-relievos, ſo often repeated on the ſepulchral ſtones of the Boſphorus, Mr. Biberſtein ſays, that

In the Firſt, The woman is generally repreſented in a ſtanding poſture, with her hands under the fore-part of her garment; though ſometimes ſhe is leaning againſt a kind of altar; and he has likewiſe

wife ſeen her ſitting on a ſtone, and wiping her eyes, with the marks and expreſſion of extreme grief.

In the Second, The man is repreſented as on a horſe in ſlow motion, with nothing but the bridle in his hands; for he is, in general, without weapons; although in a few inſtances he is clad in warlike attire.

In the Third, The man lying on a couch is repreſented as leaning on his left arm, while the right is extended, and holds a kind of garland.

As to the child in all of them, it is commonly repreſented as in a light dreſs, only covering the middle of the body; and in ſome inſtances it holds in its two hands ſomething much reſembling an urn.

Laſtly, He informs us, that in one caſe he ſaw a woman with two children (inſtead of the uſual number, one), having ſome male attendants apparently in waiting upon her.

Mr. Biberſtein finiſhes his preliminary remarks by obſerving, that he ſometimes found two of the above-deſcribed baſſo-relievos on one monument, with each its own inſcription below it, and that the ſtile of ſculpture in all of them is but indifferent; while the Greek inſcriptions are ſadly mutilated and defaced.

LETTER

LETTER XCVII.

AFTER having ſtated, in my laſt, Mr. Biberſtein's obſervations on the ſepulchral monuments of the Boſphorus, I ſhall give, in this, the ſpecimens of each kind which he took the trouble to copy.

Sepulchral Monuments of the First Kind, bearing Female Figures.

I.

On a common ſtone in the wall of the old church of Kerch (Panticapeos), is repreſented, in baſſo-relievo, a woman and child, with the following inſcription:

ΗΝΑΝΑ ΜΗΤΗΡ
ΜΗΝΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΗ . . .
ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΗΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ.

This inſcription Mr. Biberſtein tranſlates: — "Mother of Meno-"dorus, and ſiſter . . . Demoſtratus,—repoſe in peace."

II.

On a common ſtone, built into the wall of the old gothic church of Kerch, exactly ſimilar in every reſpect to the above-deſcribed monument with regard both to dimenſions and baſſo-relievos, is the following fragment of an inſcription :

... ΠΟΠΛι ΥΙΕ ...
ΚΟΣΣΑ ΧΑΙ ..

Mr. Biberſtein does not attempt a tranſlation of this inſcription in its very mutilated ſtate ; however, we may hazard a conjecture, that it means —— " Son of Poplus, with his wife, or daughter, " Coſſa, — reſt in peace."

III.

On a block of white marble, found in the ruins of the antient Phanagoria, near the modern city of Taman, there are exactly the ſame baſſo-relievos as on No. I, deſcribed before, with the following inſcription :

ΔΑΣΕ ΕΠΡΕΠΙΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕ [193].

" Daſe, daughter of Eprepie,—repoſe in peace."

N. B. This monument offers an example of what Mr. Biberſtein before aſſerts, viz. that they ſometimes contain two diſtinct baſſo-relievos, with each its peculiar inſcription ; for on this block, below

[193] The ΧΑΙΡΕ of the Greeks, with which every one of theſe ſepulchral inſcriptions ends, ſeems here to anſwer to the *Requieſcat in Pace* of the Latins; both equally wiſhing an eternal repoſe to the ſouls of the deceaſed.

the

the firſt baſſo-relievo, there is another of the ſecond ſpecies, where a man appears on horſeback; but the inſcription is too much effaced to be legible.

Sepulchral Monuments of the Second Species, where the Basso-Relievo represents a Man on Horseback, with a Child standing by him.

IV.

On a block of white marble, originally found in the ruins of the city of Phanagoria, but at preſent built into a wall in the court-yard of the commandant of Jenikal (the Nympheos of the Antients), is a baſſo-relievo repreſenting a man on horſeback, with a child ſtanding by him. The inſcription is:

ΗΖΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ
ΔΟΥ ΤΟΙΣΠΑ . . . ΛΙΟΙ
ΣΙΝ . . . . ΧΑΙΡ.

This inſcription is much too imperfect for tranſlation, as we only ſee diſtinctly the name of Appollonidus; but whether he was the perſon interred, or him who erected the monument in honour of another, it is difficult to determine. For my own part, I ſuſpect that it is the ſon of Appollonidus who is to reſt in peace.

Sepulchral Monuments of the Third Species, where a Man is represented lying on a Couch, with a Woman on one Side, and a Child on the other.

V.

On a common ſtone lately diſcovered on a hill near Kerch, now

in the poſſeſſion of the Prieſt of the diſtrict, is a baſſo-relievo of this third kind, with the following ſhort inſcription :

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥ ΧΑΙΡΕ.

" Agathe,—reſt in peace."

Laſtly, Mr. Biberſtein mentions ſome Boſphoric monuments, of the ſepulchral kind, which he found bearing only an inſcription, without any ſculptured figures upon them; of which ſpecies he gives one example.

On a ſtone in the wall of the church of Kerch is the following inſcription :

ΘΕΟΝΑΤΕ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΝΕ
ΧΑΙΡΕ.

" Theonate, daughter of Dionyſius of Amaſtris, — reſt in " peace."

It would be improper to quit the ſubject of the Boſphoric monuments, without noticing in this Letter (peculiarly appropriated to them,) the famous *Monumentum Satyri* of the iſland of Phanagoria, at the ſouthern entry of the Cimmerian Boſphorus. It is a conic mount of earth erected to a man of the name of Satyros, who had excited the admiration and merited the gratitude of his country; and

and I ſuſpect it to be of the primitive kind of ſepulchral tumuli on a gigantic ſcale mentioned in a former Letter, containing urns, which denotes its great antiquity. Strabo makes particular mention of it, and I have marked its poſition on the MAP of this Tour.

LETTER XCVIII.

THIS Letter will be appropriated to Mr. Marſhal Biberſtein's conjectures on the nature and purport of the Boſphoric monuments that he copied in his travels, and which I have inſerted here.

He thinks that the firſt ſpecies, and poſſibly the third, were dedicated to the fair ſex, while the ſecond were erected to men only.

He next ſuppoſes, that the figures ſculptured on them either repreſent the deceaſed, or the erecters of the monuments; and when two baſſo-relievos are ſeen on the ſame ſtone, the one anſwers to the firſt, and the other to the ſecond of theſe ſuppoſitions; he however admits the probability of family vaults having exiſted in the Boſphorus at the time when theſe ſepulchral monuments were erected; and in that caſe there is nothing more obvious to conjecture, than that ſeveral baſſo-relievos would be ſculptured on one tomb-ſtone belonging to a family, provided it were large enough to hold them.

Laſtly, Mr. Biberſtein thinks that the woman repreſented as ſtanding, the man on horſeback, or lying on a couch, as well as

the child with a vaſe in its hand, may all relate to certain ceremonies practiſed at funerals.

Thus far the author of the Memoirs; but, as conjectures are free, and may amuſe if they do not inſtruct, I ſhall hazard a few of my own on this curious ſubject.

May not the female repreſented on theſe monuments, in an inſulated upright poſition, indicate a virgin; the female figure leaning on an *altar*, a wife; and the woman in tears, a widow, lamenting the loſs of her huſband? The male figures I ſhould be inclined to explain much in the ſame manner, by ſuppoſing that the man on horſeback bears a reference to the exerciſes of young men, and indicates his having died a batchelor; and if what the recumbent figure holds in his hand be the nuptial garland of antiquity, it may allude to his having been married; whilſt the child bearing an urn may repreſent an orphan carrying the aſhes of its parent; and thus diſtinctly mark the different ſtates of civil ſociety [194].

Mr. Biberſtein concludes his remarks on the Boſphoric monuments, with ſuppoſing that they were moſtly erected to children. This curious hypotheſis he endeavours to found on a diſcovery of a Mr. Geiſler about the beginning of this century, who aſſerts in his travels, written in German, that from the ſmallneſs of the bones in a number of antique tombs which he examined in Italy, &c. the Antients muſt have generally buried children, without conſuming their bodies to aſhes, as they did the corpſes of adults.

[194] Theſe conjectures of mine are, perhaps, much more unſatisfactory than they might have been had Mr. Biberſtein deſcribed the dreſs of at leaſt the female figures on theſe ſepulchral monuments; as we know that the ſimple vittæ, or ſingle ribbon of the Antients, indicated the virgin, and the double vittæ the married ſtate: diſtinctions which are ſtill preſerved in the head-dreſs of the Ruſſian peaſants, as may be ſeen in my "RUSSIAN ANTIQUITIES." The Author of the Memoirs might likewiſe have told us, whether they wore the zona of the Antients, or not; which the huſband untied on the bridal night, &c.

Our

Our author likewiſe gives us another diſcovery of Geiſler's, applicable to the ſubject of ſepulchral inſcriptions. Geiſler, he ſays, found, on an attentive examination of the antient tombs in the city of Albana, that the X ſo often ſeen on tomb-ſtones, and which has commonly been taken for the croſs, and the peculiar mark of a chriſtian grave, is only the initial letter of the Greek word ΧΡΗΣΤΕ-ΧΑΙΡΕ; as he ſometimes found it written at length, and ſometimes merely the initial X, inſtead of the whole.

LETTER XCIX.

AN INQUIRY BY THE EDITOR INTO THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND RELIGION OF A FAMOUS NATION OF ANTIQUITY, WHICH SENT ANNUAL OFFERINGS FROM RUSSIA TO THE SHRINE OF APOLLO IN DELOS.

THERE ſtill remain two curious ſubjects which fall into the range of reſearch carried on in this Tour, as they regard the new dominions of Ruſſia on the Euxine.

The firſt is, an inquiry into the geographical poſition of the *Hyperboreans* of the Antients, who ſent yearly offerings from the North, by the way of Scythia, to the temple of Apollo in the iſland of Delos; which were forwarded from Scythia by the Greek coloniſts ſettled on the Euxine coaſt; a fact that ſeems to be as well authenticated as any one in antient profane hiſtory; of courſe, it becomes

becomes a curious ſubject of inveſtigation to a traveller, treating of the Southern provinces of Ruſſia, more eſpecially as it appears, from a number of circumſtances brought to light in my preſent reſearch, that this intereſting people dwelt ſomewhere between Moſcow and Kieff, profeſſing the religion and rites of the Greeks, at a period of ſuch remote antiquity.

The truth of ſuch a ſtory, it would be ridiculous in me not to inquire into, by comparing the accounts of the Antients, at a moment when I am endeavouring to point out where and when the antient Greeks in their pagan ſtate had an opportunity of communicating to the anceſtors of the Ruſſians the number of analogies which I have ſhown (in my late Work) to ſubſiſt between the two nations, in their pagan rites, marriages, cuſtoms, dances, &c. &c. more eſpecially as it is a favourite amuſement that can offend no one, and the reſult of which they may take if they pleaſe — *cum grano ſalis*.

It may be neceſſary to introduce the information that I have been able to collect relative to this curious people, by explaining the meaning of the name given to them by the Greeks, who, we know, called the inhabitants of Thrace *Boreans*; and, of courſe, thoſe who dwelt far to the Northward of them, *Hyperboreans*.

The next point is, to determine, if poſſible, who theſe people were, and where they lived; a taſk of the moſt difficult kind, as, from the perfect ignorance of the Greeks with regard to the countries North of the Scythian deſerts, all that they ſay is vague in the extreme; however, there is one clue by which we may poſſibly trace out their place of reſidence; viz. the route by which their famous offerings were ſent to Delos; of which we have very exact accounts, not only from Herodotus, but from the inhabitants of Delos who received them, although the laſt part of the journey is diſputed by the Athenians, who inſiſt on having always had the honour of tranſporting them in a veſſel of the republic, from the continent of Greece, to the ſacred iſland, inſtead of their being ſhipped at Caryſtæ,

Caryſtæ, in the iſland of Eubea, for Delos, as the inhabitants of that city aſſert; and, indeed, (as I ſhall preſently ſhow) there may be equal truth in both the claims.

The Delians then tell us, that the Hyperboreans did not always ſend holy ambaſſadors (or *Theoroi*[195], as the Greeks called them) with their offerings to Apollo; but in general conveyed them, through the religious reſpect of the intermediate nations for that celebrated God of Antiquity, without any other accompaniment than the ſanctity univerſally attached to them.

The Hyperboreans contented themſelves then, for the moſt part, with handing their offerings for Apollo to their neareſt Southern neighbours, the *Iſſedonians*, who gave them again to their next neighbours the Scythians, to be carried down to the Greek coloniſts on the Euxine coaſt; who forwarded them in the ſame manner, from nation to nation, to the place of their depoſit.

Our ſurprize at ſo long a journey as theſe Hyperborean offerings performed, merely by religious zeal, will be conſiderably diminiſhed, when we conſider, that there then exiſted a chain of Greek colonies, all the way from the great market of Olbio on the Dnieper down to Greece.

I have already traced them in my ſketch of the Euxine commerce down to Byzantium, the limits of my plan; and every body knows, that the Propontide, or Sea of Marmora, as well as the Helleſpont, were equally furniſhed with Greek colonies; but it may not be ſo generally known, that they had extended their ſettlements along the coaſts of Thrace and Macedonia; ſo that when the Northern firſt fruits, *wrapt up in wheat-ſtraw*, their conſtant package, had once got down to the Euxine colonies, by means of the Iſſedonians

[195] Θεωροι, in the original ſignification, were thoſe who went yearly to Delos in the ſame ſhips which carried Theſeus to Crete; though afterwards applied to all who carried offerings to Apollo in that iſland.

and Scythians (who probably received a preſent of Greek merchandize as a reward for their diligence and care of the ſacred charge), there is little doubt but they would be forwarded the reſt of the way, with marked attention, from colony to colony, by the zealous worſhippers of Apollo.

I here ſuppoſe, that the way they were ſent, after arriving at Byzantium, was down the European ſhore of the Propontidus and Helleſpont, and then along the coaſts of Thrace and Macedonia into Theſſaly, the country of Achilles; where, being arrived on Grecian ground, they would quickly find their way for embarkation, either at the famous port of Aulis in Bœotia (where the Grecian fleet was ſo long detained by contrary winds in their way to Troy), or at the no leſs celebrated port of Pire in Attica; if the Athenians are founded in ſaying, that the Hyperborean offerings were yearly forwarded to Delos by them: but, as the Delians themſelves declare that they received them from Caryſtæ in Eubea, by way of Tenos, it is more than probable, that they were at firſt ſent from ſome port on the continent of Greece to Caryſtæ, till the all-powerful Athenians became the lords paramount of Delos, as we know was the caſe; after which period, they certainly would claim the excluſive right of acting as *Theoroi* to the diſtant votaries of Apollo; and ſurely it would not be the inhabitants of a ſecondary Grecian city that would dare to conteſt with them an honour ſo highly prized in the pagan world.

I have here overlooked another route by which ſome pretend theſe offerings were ſent from Scythia, viz. ſtraight Weſt to the Adriatic, and from thence by the Ionian Sea to Dodona in Epirus, and then carried for embarkation on the Sinus Maliacus to proceed to Caryſtæ, Tenos, and Delos. Surely ſuch a-round-about journey is very improbable; more eſpecially as the offerings muſt have paſſed through barbarous nations, who probably never heard of the gods of the Greeks; while we know, that if there even had not been

been a Grecian colony in either Thrace or Macedonia, they would have been reſpected in both; for the Thracians offered to *Diana*[196] in *wheaten-ſtraw*, as did the Hyperboreans; and, of courſe, any thing on its way to her iſland would be treated with much reſpect in that country; and we likewiſe know, that Macedonia was in habits of friendſhip with Greece about the period alluded to; for, on the night before the battle of Platæa (479 years before Chriſt), we find Alexander king of Macedonia, although forced to accompany Xerxes in his expedition againſt Greece, ſtealing in the night to the camp of the Athenians, to inform them of Mardonius's intention to ſurpriſe them at day-break; and Perdiccas, another of their kings, ſoliciting to become a citizen of Athens in the 454th year before Chriſt.

Having ſhown, that the Hyperboreans worſhipped Apollo, Diana, and Juno, and that they ſent yearly offerings to their ſhrines in Delos, I think the caſe very clearly made out, that there did exiſt ſuch a nation to the Northward of Scythia; and ſhall now endeavour to trace out, by the route of their offerings, the geographical poſition of thoſe who ſent them.

Herodotus, whom I have already ſhown[197] to have obtained, during his travels in Scythia, a valuable maſs of information relative to the country of the Hyperboreans, likewiſe learned during his Tour, that they gave their offerings for Delos to their Southern neighbours the Iſſedonians, who committed them to the care of the Scythians, on whoſe country they bordered, to be conveyed down to the Greek colonies on the Euxine; exactly the ſame mode of conveyance as is recorded in the writings or archives of Delos.

[196] Delos was held doubly ſacred by the Antients, as the birth-place of both Apollo and Diana; and we find that the Hyperboreans muſt have ſent offerings and holy ambaſſadors to both of thoſe deities, as Herodotus mentions the aſhes of two of thoſe Hyperborean Theoroi preſerved with religious care in the temple of Diana in Delos, beſides tombs of the other two of them, who died there on an embaſſy to Apollo. See "The Young Anacharſis," Vol. VIII. p. 272, 8vo. *Deux Ponts*.

[197] See Letter XC.

Now we know that the deſerts of Scythia extend, even at this day, up to the 48th degree of North latitude, and in ſome places farther; indeed, the Ruſſian line of forts to be ſeen on the maps of the empire, perfectly define their limits, as they were conſtructed to defend the ſtationary cultivators dwelling in fixed habitations, from the roving inhabitants of the deſert.

The *Iſſedonians* then muſt have dwelt beyond the 48th degree of North latitude, probably as high as the 50th, which is the latitude of Kieff, the antient capital of the Great Dukes of Ruſſia; a poſition which well agrees with that given them by the learned Jeſuit father Hardouin, who ſays, that they dwelt in the South of Muſcovy, or Ruſſia.

But the Hyperboreans dwelt to the North of the Iſſedonians, who were their neareſt Southern neighbours, and tranſmitted their offerings to the Scythians; ſo that this *polar*[198] nation, in the opinion of the Greeks, muſt evidently have lived conſiderably to the Southward of Moſcow; as they could not have given their offerings *directly* to the Iſſedonians, had there been another nation between them.

However, although Herodotus, and the reſt of his countrymen, never went ſo high as Kieff, and were therefore completely ignorant of the North and its inhabitants, which led them to imagine ſo many ridiculous fables concerning them; yet I have ſhown, in Letter XC. that he had acquired from the Greeks ſettled in Scythia, and the nomades of the deſert, who came down to trade with them, a moſt accurate account of the Hyperborean climate; which per-

[198] We muſt not be ſo ſevere on Herodotus, and the Greeks in general, for their wild opinions of the cold of the Hyperborean country, when we find a Roman 500 years afterwards, the famous Ovid, painting his ſituation on the coaſt of the Euxine (far to the Southward even of the poſition that I have given it) as the moſt diſmal poſſible, from the uncommon ſeverity of the climate; although we inhabitants of Peterſburg fly to it for health, as the Italy of Ruſſia, and with difficulty ſupport the heat: ſo that all our ideas are comparative, it would appear, as well as our feelings.

fectly

fectly agrees with the result of my inquiry, and points out their geographical position to have been in the antient dominions of Russia, probably about the latitude of Baturin[199], the antient residence of the Hetman of the Cossaks; as they would there border on the lands of the Issedonians, as Herodotus and the Delians tell us they did. What makes this conjecture something probable is, that the river Desna, on which Baturin stands, and which waters the country where I suppose the Hyperboreans may have dwelt, is a branch of the Borysthenes; so that in case this people, worshipping the gods of the Greeks, were of Grecian origin, it is easy to believe, that in the 500 years that Greek colonies had been settled on the banks of the Dnieper, before Herodotus, a detachment of them might have gradually mounted up to the Ukraine in pursuing the course of the river, whose banks all the way would invite them to proceed, when regularly examined as they went on, whatever prejudices might have been entertained against the cold and sterility of the upper regions, by their countrymen down at Olbio, and which were most probably kept alive by the cunning Scythians, to prevent their going up to trade directly with the nations settled in the fertile lands of Little[200] Russia, without their intermediate aid;

[199] It may be remarked with some degree of truth, that the description of Herodotus is more applicable at present to the part of Russia on the Gulph of Finland, than to the South of Russia; but when we consider how much the climate of a country is improved in a very few generations, by being cleared and cultivated, we have reason to think that his account was applicable 2000 years ago to the Ukraine; and, to judge of the truth of my remark on the amelioration of the Russian climate, let any one read the accounts that we have from the Romans of the climate of Germany even in their time, and compare them with the same country at present, since the lands have been cultivated, the woods cleared, and the marshes drained. The reverse of this case is the present state of Egypt, Sardinia, and several other countries, become infectious and deadly from neglect, although formerly the granaries of the world, and the pleasant and healthy abode of man, whilst the seat of industry and agriculture.

[200] It is a curious fact, although I do not suppose it to have any reference to the remote period treated of in this inquiry, that there has existed for ages a small Greek colony in the antient city of Niejin, a little to the South West of Baturin, which carried on a flourishing commerce by the Euxine Sea, till the establishment of the new Cherson near the mouth of the Dnieper made their trade languish of late years.

for

for the ſhepherds of Scythia, like the ſhepherds of Arabia, ſeem to have been the carriers acroſs their deſerts in antient times, before the navigation of the Boryſthenes was put in train.

Who the Hyperboreans were, ſeems now the only remaining part of this ſubject incumbent on me to inquire into; and my ſentiments are ſo very much the ſame with thoſe of Mr. Larcher, the learned tranſlator and commentator of Herodotus, as expreſſed in his 55th Note on the IVth Book of that Author, that I ſhall tranſcribe his opinion as my own.

He ſays, "the Hyperboreans muſt have been of *Grecian origin*, if "we are to judge from their worſhipping the Delian Apollo, from "their rites[201], and from the traces of their language viſible in the "names of their Theoroi[202], or holy ambaſſadors, who occaſionally "came

[201] What Mr. Larcher, probably, means by *their rites* (for I have nowhere found any mention of them) is, their manner of ſending their offerings to Delos, wrapt up in *wheat-ſtraw*, an antient Grecian ceremony, ſo well known, that thoſe who carried offerings thus arranged were called Amallophori and Oulophori, with the only difference, that it was barley, the oldeſt grain of their country, inſtead of wheat-ſtraw, in which they were enveloped, as the Greek word indicates. The Greeks poured barley ἀλαὶ in *grain*, and the Romans in *flour*, ἀλφιτον, on the heads of the victims to be ſacrificed.

[202] The names of the Hyperborean ambaſſadors, or Theoroi, in which Mr. Larcher traces the Greek language, are, Oupis, or Opis, Loxo, Hecaerge, Hyperoché, Laodicé, Argé, Abaris, Achœia, &c. who arrived at different times at Delos. Herodotus mentions the tombs of two of them, viz. of Opis and Argé, Hyperborean virgins, which ſtood in his time to the Eaſt behind the temple of Diana, near the hall where the Ceians kept their feſtivals. To them likewiſe the women of Delos ſung hymns; but they ſeem to have come, according to Herodotus, with offerings, not to Apollo or Diana, but to Ilythia (Juno), in favour of the Hyperborean women, to procure them eaſy parturition; ſo that here is another of the deities of the Greeks worſhipped by the Hyperboreans; an additional proof of Grecian extraction.

I muſt here take notice of an opinion on the origin of the Hyperboreans, to which a reverential attention muſt be paid, as coming from that great Oriental ſcholar the late learned judge of Bengal, and preſident of the Aſiatic ſociety, Sir William Jones, whoſe profound reſearches make an epoch in the hiſtory of India and of human acquirements in languages.

In his eighth Anniverſary Diſcourſe he thinks, that as to the Hyperboreans, from all that can be learned of their antient religion and manners, they ſeem not to have been of the Tartar, but Gothic race; that is, of the *Hindu*: for he does not heſitate to aſſume, that the Goths and Hindus had originally the ſame language, gave the ſame appellations to the ſtars and planets, and had the ſame

" came to Delos with their offerings, although in general they " were ſent alone."

Thus have I endeavoured to ſhow, and I hope not without ſome degree of ſucceſs, not only that Grecian colonies were eſtabliſhed as early as the time of Herodotus on the banks of the Dnieſter, Dnieper, &c. where I proved, in my former work, that the anceſtors of the Ruſſians roved in their paſtoral ſtate; but that a people profeſſing the pagan religion of the Greeks dwelt at that period in the antient dominions of the great dukes of Ruſſia, before they became maſters of Moſcow; ſo that there is little difficulty in finding where the Ruſſians acquired the great number of ſtriking analogies with the manners of the antient Greeks, pointed out in my "Ruſſian Antiquities."

ſame religious rites and opinions; now, as he has himſelf proved that the *Greeks* took their pagan deities with their fables, &c. &c. directly or indirectly from India, where all are ſtill found in the Sanſcrit books and India temples, his opinion does not militate againſt my inquiry. On the contrary, if the following chain of reaſoning be admitted, the Hyperboreans will appear to have been Sclavonians, or Ruſſians. In an inquiry into the origin of the Sclavonians by the learned J. Chriſt. Gatterer, in the Commentaries of the Royal Society of Gottingen for 1791 and 1792, Vol. XI. it is proved, that, after the reign of Caracalla, the names of *Goths* and *Getæ* are uſed indiſcriminately (probably from the Roman authors becoming better acquainted with that people formerly ſuppoſed two different nations); and, as the reſult of his inquiry ſhows, that the names of *Getæ* and Decians were melted into Antæ and *Sclavi* after the reign of Aurelian, the *Goths* and *Sclavi* ſeem to have been a kindred people, if not one and the ſame; and, indeed, there ſeems to be no poſſibility of tracing the barbarous hordes of Europe to their parent ſtock, by the moſt laborious reſearch, or even the real name by which they paſſed among themſelves; for thoſe given them by the Greeks and Romans were often very different, as I have found in the inquiries neceſſary to this Work, and occaſionally pointed out; nay, even in our own days, we find ſeveral hordes of Tartars diſavowing the names given them by their neareſt neighbours, the Chineſe and Ruſſians, and of courſe adopted by all Europe. We ſhall ſoon, I imagine, call them by their proper names on a more intimate knowledge of our neighbours in conſequence of their ſerving as irregulars in the Ruſſian armies, as the Getæ, Dacii, Gothi, &c. did in the Roman about the period when we find their names changed by their employers, poſſibly on better acquaintance: the Hyperboreans, Goths, and Sclavi, may, then, have been the ſame people.

LETTER

LETTER C.

Inquiry into the Species of Connexion that subsisted between the Colonies and the Mother Country in antient Times.

THE other ſubject into which I could wiſh to inquire is, the nature of the connexion between the Euxine Greek colonies and the mother country; as that ſpecies of reſearch has become highly intereſting to Europe, ſince the impolitic diſpute between Great Britain and America on this ſubject; which, artfully fomented by the natural enemies of the mother country, produced a ſeparation, probably half a century ſooner than the child (to ſpeak figuratively) would naturally have become independent of the parent, by the requiſite degree of riches and power to act for itſelf without either protection or aid, the only ties that can cloſely unite nations at ſuch a diſtance; for filial and parental affection are figurative terms, that mean nothing when applied to great bodies of men. Fortunately, however, a new bond of union, which promiſes to be more permanent than the old, has united them a ſecond time; viz. mutual intereſt and commercial advantages.

I am ſorry to find ſo few materials for my propoſed inquiry; as commerce in antient times, although it muſt have been tolerably well underſtood by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Athenians, and Carthaginians,

Carthaginians, as well as the Mileſians, whom we find ſettling mercantile colonies all round the ſhores of the Euxine; yet it does not ſeem to have there been a ſubject thought worthy the pen of the hiſtorian; and no profeſſional writers on commerce had then appeared, or at leaſt whoſe works have come down to us; nor could we, indeed, expect any thing very ſatisfactory on a ſubject which has only ſo very lately been treated philoſophically, although the Moderns had carried commerce, for ſeveral ages, to an extent unknown to the Antients; Venice, Genoa, Antwerp, the Hanſeatic cities, Holland, France, and England, (though laſt, not leaſt in the maritime liſt,) having all left antiquity at a diſtance, in the extenſive range and magnitude of their trade, though certain changes in the nature and current of commerce have made it flow in a full ſtream to the laſt three countries, eſpecially England and Holland, for more than a century; while its antient channels are partly dried up.

As to information of the nature here required, applying directly and excluſively to the Euxine colonies, I acknowledge that none has preſented itſelf in my reading; any thing, therefore, that I can ſay on the ſubject muſt be merely occaſional hints thrown out by antient authors in treating of other ſubjects, and applicable to colonies in general.

As I find a few intereſting facts on the ſubject already collected by two celebrated writers, whoſe reputation for careful and accurate citation of the authors that they conſulted, is high in public eſtimation, I ſhall content myſelf with quoting what they have brought together on antient colonization, and refer the reader to the authorities given in their own notes for every line that they advance.

We find, then, in the learned Abbé Barthélemy's agreeable Work, "The Young Anacharſis," (Vol. II. page 42),

That the connection between the Greek colonies and the mother country was of the tendereſt kind, like that of parent and child; and

that they even uſed thoſe endearing expreſſions to one another in all their intercourſe.

That the colonies preſerved the laws, cuſtoms, and religion of the mother country; ſent every year their firſt fruits to its temples, and gave its citizens the firſt places in their aſſemblies and ſports. Nay, we are further told, that they often received their commanders and prieſts from the parent ſtate, and were ever ready to fly to its aſſiſtance. So that it would ſeem as if the Greek colonies had remained, either voluntarily or by convention, under both the civil and ſacerdotal power of the mother country. Thus far the learned Abbé Barthélemy.

I ſhall now ſee what our own celebrated countryman, Adam Smith, has collected on the ſame ſubject in his valuable Work "On the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations."

Smith ſeems to be of a different opinion from the learned Abbé, though he does not give his authorities. He aſcribes the rapid riſe of the Greek colonies to two cauſes; the one, their being eſtabliſhed in barbarous countries, among people ignorant of arts and agriculture; by which they obtained as much land to cultivate as they choſe; the other, becauſe the mother country permitted them to make what colonial arrangements they pleaſed, without interfering.

Now this ſecond cauſe of proſperity directly contradicts the facts collected on the ſubject by Barthélemy from unſuſpected ſources; while the firſt ſeems ſufficient to account for their proſperity; more eſpecially when we take into conſideration the great inferiority of the Roman colonies, from being founded conſtantly in their conquered provinces, already filled with powerful rivals in the arts of civil life, nay, even where they ſometimes were only ſcholars; while the portion of land allotted them for cultivation was comparatively ſmall. The natural conſequence of this was, that while the Grecian colonial cities of Syracuſe and Agrigentum

Agrigentum in Sicily, Tarentum and Locreum in Italy, Ephesus and Miletus in Asia Minor, surpassed in size and riches any of the cities in antient Greece, and boasted the first schools of Philosophy (those of Thales and Pythagoras); the Roman colonies never made any great figure, although some of them, like Florence, rose to eminence in time; but it was after the fall of the mother country.

This inquiry has proved as meagre and brief as I expected; but, such as it is, I must leave it for want of farther materials to write upon, and beg the Reader to accept the will for the deed.

APPENDIX:

BY

THE EDITOR.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ON TAURIC MEDALS.

ALTHOUGH the very intelligent Author of this Tour regrets her not having been able, during her rapid courſe along the Euxine coaſt, to collect ſo many Medals as ſhe could have wiſhed, ſhe certainly amaſſed many more than could have been expected from a lady, though a large proportion of them are Roman, not ſtruck in the Taurida, the ſpecies of coin generally found at a certain diſtance from the ſurface; for it is only ſince the Ruſſian pioneers have been digging deep to lay the foundations of the new forts and other buildings, that Greek coins, and other antiquities of the Grecian colonies, have been obtained; owing, probably, to the earth being conſiderably raiſed in the number of ages ſince they flouriſhed on the Euxine ſhores; but of which we have now many curious proofs, independent of the intereſting information drawn from claſſic authors.

I intended to have deſcribed all the Greek medals added to my collection by the kind Traveller, and thoſe in the cabinets of my friends here who have made them an object of reſearch as well as myſelf; but, on a more cloſe inſpection, I found that, with a few exceptions which I ſhall afterwards notice, all of them, and many more than we poſſeſs in Ruſſia, are diſperſed in the different cabinets of Europe, and well deſcribed by thoſe indefatigable and ſkilful antiquaries,

Mr.

Mr. Pellerin of Paris, and Father Cary; ſo that I have contented myſelf with giving ſketches of them from their works, to illuſtrate and authenticate facts advanced in this Tour; and I beg to ſay a few words in juſtification of this unuſual application of antient coins.

To me, it appears high time to begin employing antient medals (hitherto ſhut up in coſtly numiſmatic works, principally bought up by antiquaries) to public uſe; and ſurely one very effectual way of doing ſo is, by producing the coin of a prince or city as evidence of any doubtful fact while relating it; more eſpecially as many thouſand readers of travels are not in poſſeſſion of ſuch books as treat of them; and, as to the expence of engraving, ſurely that can be no objection in an age when every publication is filled with coſtly prints, that raiſe the price much higher than ſketches of medals can poſſibly do. But if ever the evidence of antient coins be neceſſary, it is moſt eſſentially ſo in this Tour; as the Greek colonies on the Euxine have been ſo little mentioned by the learned for ſome ages ſince they were in poſſeſſion of the Turks, that many people well acquainted with the hiſtory of their mother country, ſo ably treated by Gillies, Mitford, the Abbé Barthélemy, &c. of late years, have ſcarcely heard of them; and, as to the public at large, I am convinced that ſketches of their coins will alone convince them even of the very exiſtence of many antient cities mentioned here as now fallen to decay, and prevent the fair author from being ſuſpected of relating Greek fables which never exiſted but in the works of Herodotus[203] and other poetic travellers. The ſame may be ſaid of the Boſphoric hiſtory; ſo very imperfect, from the loſs of the great work of Trojus Pompeius, where alone a proper account of it was to be found, that if it were not for the intereſting ſeries of the coins of its kings in the cabinets of Europe, given in this Tour, we ſhould know ſcarcely any thing about it; for little information is to be gained from the Greek inſcriptions (likewiſe collected here), as they are all ſo mutilated as to be, I am afraid, unintelligible.

On the autonomatic coins of the Scythio-Grecian cities we generally find either *Pan* or *Diana*, very proper deities for a nation of ſhepherds and hunters; but the firſt is by far the moſt common, as might be expected; for the Scythians in general were in the paſtoral ſtate, their open plains ſheltering but

[203] I am only here alluding to the faſhionable manner of talking of the father of hiſtory; but by no means join in the unjuſt accuſation of a writer whom I have found ſo well informed as to the countries of which I am treating.

little

little game. Nay, this attachment to the gods of ſhepherds and hunters, is farther confirmed by the diſcovery of the antient tombs at the mouth of the Tyras, or Dnieſter; for the only two Penates [204] found in them are, a buſt of Diana, and a moſt curious figure of Pan in my poſſeſſion; unique, I believe, of its kind, for the three nymphs climbing up his body, and a fourth offering a ram's head at his feet, all connected in the ſame group.

On the medals of the Olbio, or Olbiopolis of Herodotus, beſides Pan on the obverſe, the Scythian bow and quiver is united on the reverſe, with the Amazon battle-axe; a happy alluſion to the fabulous hiſtory of the Scythians, as related by Herodotus [205] and the other Greek writers; for, although theſe warlike ladies came to attack them in a hoſtile manner, yet they ſeem to have employed the natural arms of the ſex with more ſucceſs than that on the coin; and finiſhed their campaign by uniting in marriage with their courageous adverſaries: from which union, we are told, were deſcended the Scythian nation in the time of the Greeks.

The Deſerts, or Stepts, are ſtudded with rude ſtatues of great antiquity, the origin and hiſtory of which are perfectly unknown to the Tartars, their probable deſcendants; although they exactly repreſent the figure, features, and even dreſs, of one of the greateſt Tartar nations, the Monguls, the conquerors of China, India, Ruſſia, &c. in different ages. As this ſpecies of Scythian antiques, however, are foreign to the ſubject of medals which occupies us at preſent, we muſt refer to a ſubſequent part of this Volume, where the ſubject is treated at length [206].

The remarks hitherto made, chiefly apply to the countries lately ceded to Ruſſia; but, as the whole circumference of the Euxine is mentioned in treating of its antient commerce, I ſhall likewiſe make a few obſervations on the medals of the great trading cities which were intimately connected with thoſe on the North ſhore (the proper limits of this Tour) by commercial intercourſe.

[204] I employ the term *Penates* only to give Antiquaries, by a well-known name, a better idea of the curious antique in my poſſeſſion; for I am well aware that the Greeks had no Dii Penates, which the Romans only received from Troy with Æneas; but ſtill, if we could believe Varro, that the Trojans got them from Samothrace with Dardanus, in that caſe, the mother iſland, not far from the entrance to the Helleſpont, was much nearer at hand, to ſend a colony to the mouth of the Dnieſter, than either Greece or its colonies in Aſia Minor.

[205] In his IVth Book, Melpomene.

[206] See Appendix, No. III.

The autonomatic coins of the free commercial Greek cities on the Eaſt, South, and Weſt coaſts of the Euxine ſeem to me to announce either their fabulous founders, or the origin of their opulence; ſuch as the conic cap and ſtar of the Dioſcurius on the coins of Sebaſtapolis, Sinope, Panticapeum, &c. and the club and lion-ſkin of Hercules on thoſe of Callatia, Heraclea, &c. the ſuppoſed founders of theſe cities; while we ſee a fiſh on the coins of ſeveral cities which owed the commencement of their riches to a lucrative fiſhery; nay, I even think that the particular ſpecies commonly caught by them was attempted on their money, ſuch as the famous Ruſſian Belingo[207] (ſo well deſcribed by Herodotus) on the coin of Olbio, which they caught in the Boryſthenes.

The Antacœus[208] of Strabo on thoſe of Panticapeum, caught in the Palus Mæotis; and the dolphin on the coins of Iſtriopolis, &c. caught in the Euxine.

But the moſt ſtriking mark of reſpect paid to a fiſhery, as a ſource of wealth, is ſeen on the coins of antient Byzantium, which owed the origin of its commercial and maritime conſequence to a fiſhery of the Pelamides; we there find a fiſh-hook in the center of a laurel crown, which I preſume muſt indicate that ſuch a reward was beſtowed on thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt in what rendered the city rich and powerful, by forming a body of mariners, as well as by furniſhing a lucrative branch of commerce; for the ſalt-fiſh of Byzantium was known all over Greece; and I think it very poſſible, that thoſe crowns may have been given in the Hippodromus[209] during the annual games celebrated there.

Notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of modern commerce, that of antient times muſt have been very conſiderable, when we reflect on the great riches of ſome of the kings and free cities of Aſia Minor, who poſſeſſed no gold mines, and, of courſe, muſt have owed their vaſt wealth to agriculture and trade, which are ſynonymous terms; for the ſurplus of the productions of the earth muſt be bartered for money or goods, if the Prince of the country be rich. The wealth of Crœſus is proverbial; but Gyges muſt have been equally ſo, if we may judge by the coſtly preſents that he ſent to Delphos, mentioned in the 8th chapter of the firſt book of Herodotus, a native of Aſia Minor. Nay, Pythius,

[207] The Accipenſer Huſſo of Linnæus.

[208] Another ſpecies of Accipenſer, or Sturgeon.

[209] A curious account of the Games in the Hippodromus of Conſtantinople, in the reign of Leo, will be found in my Engliſh tranſlation of the Empreſs Catharine's Ruſſian Opera of Oleg.

only

only a citizen of the free city of Celœne, in Phrygia, entertained the vaſt army of Xerxes, on his march to Greece, and offered to pay the whole expence of the expedition. The memorable diſpute among the eleven cities, as to which ſhould raiſe a temple to Tiberius, gives us a high idea of the riches of Aſia Minor, when we ſee the magnificent ruins of Laodicea, one of the four which were refuſed that permiſſion on account of inferiority of wealth. As to the great riches of Mithridates, they certainly were acquired principally by commerce.

There has been given, in Letter LI. a coin of that great prince, which merits notice; as the grazing ſtag, &c. on the reverſe, ſeems to have puzzled Antiquaries. I have little doubt but that it was ſtruck in the antient city of Cherſon while he was maſter of the Taurida; and that the reverſe alludes to his being then in poſſeſſion of the temple of the Tauric Diana cloſe to Cherſon, which he may have repaired or beautified, and recorded his piety on his money.

Every one knows the claſſic fable, that when Ulyſſes and Diomede had brought Iphigenia, to ſacrifice her at Aulis for a fair wind, Diana ſubſtituted a hind for the unhappy daughter of Agamemnon, and carried her off to be her prieſteſs in the Tauric temple. Now, that the Tauric goddeſs, or her prieſteſs, is alluded to on this medal, I think, is evident, not only by the creſcent and ſtar of Diana before the ſtag, but by the firſt letter of her name behind it; for, as to the Epheſian Diana, ſuppoſing even that Mithridates had an equal right to place her attributes on his coins, (which I deny) ſhe is generally repreſented with two ſtags, a baſket of fruit, and a number of Mammæ; and was a very different perſonage, or deity, from the bloody Tauric Diana, the Hecate of the Antients, delighting in human ſacrifices, and adorned in the Indian temples with a collar of golden ſkulls.

But what has, I preſume, led Antiquaries into error with regard to this medal is, the circumſtance of no other kings of Boſphorus than Mithridates pretending to place Diana on their coins; and no one had a right, except that old hero, who alone conquered the little peninſula of Cherſoneſus Heraclea, where the city of Cherſon and the temple of Diana ſtood, in the Weſtern angle or corner of the Taurida (ſee my MAP), from its tyrant Silurus and his fifty ſons, in ſpite of its ſtrong fortifications, till then impregnable; whereas the other Boſphoric kings were ſo far from poſſeſſing Cherſon, that they had ever after enough to do to defend themſelves againſt the powerful republic, made ſo

by the Romans, his immediate ſucceſſors (as lords paramount of the Taurida); and till the reign of Conſtantine always ſupported by them againſt the antient kingdom, according to their uſual politics, as ſaid in another article. The deſcription of the medal is as follows:

Large Brass.—*Obverſe:* The head of Mithridates, in a good ſtile, encircled with the royal diadem, or fillet.

Reverſe: A ſtag grazing in the center of the field; before it, a creſcent and ſtar; behind it, Δ.

Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΩΣ; which means the *Illuſtrious* King Mithridates; *Eupator*, or Illuſtrious, being his conſtant cognomen, which his General Diophantus gave to a city that he repaired, or re-built, in the Taurida ſoon after its conqueſt, the Koſlof of the Crim Tartars, lately reſtored to its antient name of Eupator by Catharine the Second.

Here follow the few Scythio-Grecian Medals which ſeem never to have been publiſhed.

Middle Brass.—*Obverſe:* A head of Pan.

Reverſe: A Victory, holding a bent bow in one hand.

Legend: In place of one, the Greek Monogram of Panticapeum.

Middle Brass.—*Obverſe:* A female head.

Reverſe: The Scythian quiver, or parazonium, containing a bow as well as arrows; ſtill worn by ſome hordes of their deſcendants, the Tartars.

Legend: The Monogram of Phanagoria.

Middle Brass.—*Obverſe:* A head of Pan.

Reverſe: The head of a bull.

Legend: ΤΑΥ.——This Medal ſeems to belong to the Taurida; but in what city it was ſtruck it is difficult to gueſs.

Small Brass.—*Obverſe:* A man drawing a bow, much effaced.

Reverſe: A horſe, of barbarous workmanſhip.

Legend: ΧΕΡ; evidently meaning Cherſon.

Gold.—*Obverſe:* The head of Sauromates, the third king of Boſphorus, encircled with a diadem.

Reverſe:

Reverſe: Head of the Roman Emperor Commodus, with an arrow before his breaſt; dated ΔΟΥ, or 474 of the Boſphoric æra.
Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΓΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Small Brass.—*Obverſe:* A head ornamented with a mural crown.
Reverſe: A man ſtanding, and drawing a bow.
Legend: ΟΛΒΙΟ.

N. B. We have two more medals of Olbio, exactly the ſame as No. 9, given in Letter XC. except that one of them, inſtead of having the mark ΔΙ, has ΜΕ, with the legend contracted thus: ΟΛΒ.; and the other, the legend in full, ΟΛΒΙΟ, with the mark ΒΟΣ; probably, all of them the names of magiſtrates, or mint-maſters.

With regard to the Roman coins collected by our Traveller I have little to ſay, as they were not ſtruck in any of the cities on the Euxine; except that the greater part of them are of Trajan and Hadrian, as might have been ſuſpected; as the army of the firſt of thoſe Emperors muſt have left a great quantity of money during his conqueſts, independent of the ſums circulated by the colonies that he planted in Moldavia, Wallachia (the antient Dacia), &c. The fleet ſent by Hadrian to make the famous ſurvey of the Euxine Sea, ſo happily preſerved to us by its noble and learned commander Arrian, muſt likewiſe have ſpent a great deal of money in thoſe countries.

N° II.

FRAGMENTS OF

BOSPHORIC HISTORY,

ILLUSTRATED BY MEDALS OF ITS KINGS AND CITIES, IN THE DIFFERENT CABINETS OF EUROPE: ALL STRUCK WITHIN THE ANTIENT KINGDOM, AND MOST OF THEM IN ITS CAPITAL, PANTICAPEUM (NOW KERCH).

SINCE the Tour was finiſhed, the EDITOR has been enabled, by the obliging attention of the Imperial Librarian, to give a ſketch of the remaining hiſtory of the kingdom of Boſphorus, ſo far as the coins of its kings, and the imperfect mutilated accounts of its remaining records, collected by Mr. Cary, could aſſiſt him [210].

XIIth KING.—PHARNACES.

(In the 691ſt year of Rome, and the 63d before Chriſt.)

The traitor Pharnaces, who received the kingdom of Boſphorus from Pompey as a reward for his treaſon [211] (with the exception of Phanagoria, made free by

[210] The kingdom of Boſphorus exiſted in its regal ſtate at leaſt 800 years; for it had its Kings as early as the third year of Rome, and they reigned till the time of Conſtantine the Great.

[211] See Letter LII.

the

the republicans, to encourage other cities to be the firſt in rebellion againſt their ſovereigns), has left us one of his coins, given in the margin, and which I ſhall deſcribe here.

Obverſe: The head of Pharnaces encircled with a diadem.

Reverſe: Apollo ſitting and holding a branch of a tree in his right hand; while his left is leaning on his lyre, and a tripod is ſtanding before him.

Legend, in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ.

Date—ΖΜΣ, or 247 of the Pontic and Boſphoric æra, which anſwers to 691 of the Roman, and to the year 63 before Jeſus Chriſt.

XIIIth King. — ASANDER.

(In the 706th of Rome, and 48th before Chriſt.)

The next ſovereign of the Boſphorus, whoſe coins have come down to us, is *Aſander*, whom Pharnaces left to command in the Boſphorus, while he himſelf took charge of his other kingdom of Pontus, likewiſe given to the parricide by Pompey, as a reward for betraying his father, after the old hero had reſiſted the Roman plan of univerſal uſurpation for 30 or 40 years.

The cruelties and vexations of Pharnaces having brought upon his guilty head the vengeance of Julius Cæſar, he fled to the Boſphorus after his defeat, and there met with the puniſhment of his crimes from his viceroy Aſander, who revolted againſt him, and put him to death; and we have two coins of that prince, one while he was only Archontus, or governor, of Boſphorus; and another ſtruck after Auguſtus had given him the title of king. The deſcription of the firſt is as follows:

A Gold Medal in the cabinet of the Elector of Saxony.

Obverſe: The head of Aſander, without any ornament.

Reverſe: A figure of Victory, with her attributes, ſtanding on the prow of a galley.

Legend, Greek: ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΟΣΠΟΡΟΥ ΧΙΙ.

The

The ſecond is, a Gold Medal in the cabinet of the famous collector and numiſmatic writer, Pellerin.

Obverſe: The head of Aſander encircled with a diadem.

Reverſe: A Victory ſtanding on the prow of a galley.

Legend, in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; with the monogram of Panticapeum, which ſhows that it was ſtruck in that city.

This prince was one of the greateſt warriors of his time, and actually ſtarved himſelf to death at the age of 93, on Scribonius being ſent by Auguſtus to take the command of the Boſphorian army, in the 740th year of the Roman æra, or 14 years before Chriſt.

XIVth King.—SCRIBONIUS.

(In the 740th year of Rome, and 14th before Chriſt.)

Scribonius, who ſeems to have been ſent to command the Boſphoric troops, on Auguſtus ſuppoſing the aged king Aſander no longer capable of taking the field at 93, endeavoured to make the people believe that he was likewiſe appointed to the Boſphoric throne by the Roman Emperor, and actually mounted it for a ſhort time, ſtrengthening his claim by marrying the heireſs of the ſceptre, Dynamis, widow of Aſander, and daughter of Pharnaces, who had been declared regent on the death of her proud warlike huſband. His uſurpation, however, was ſo quickly diſcovered by his ſubjects, and puniſhed with death, that he probably never had time to ſtrike money; at leaſt, none of his coins have as yet been found.

XVth King.—POLEMON the First.

(In the 742d year of Rome, and the 12th before Chriſt.)

So ſoon as the news of the uſurpation of Scribonius reached Agrippa, who then commanded the Roman army in Syria, he ſent againſt him Polemon, ſon of the orator Zeno, whom Marc Antony had already placed on the throne of Pontus

Pontus and the Little Armenia. The king of Pontus found the uſurper Scribonius already killed by his ſubjects; who, however, took up arms to prevent Polemon's ſeizing the vacant ſceptre; and it was not till Agrippa himſelf directed the Roman force againſt them, that they permitted him to place his protegé, Polemon, on the throne, 12 or 13 years before Chriſt, 742 of the Roman æra: a choice afterwards confirmed by Auguſtus, and ſtrengthened by a marriage with the real heireſs, Dynamis, though now forty-nine years of age, after having been widow to the two laſt kings; which ſhews how much the Boſphorites muſt have been attached to the blood of the great Mithridates, her grandfather, whoſe glorious thirty years ſtruggle for the independence of his country, with his tragical death, ſeems to have rendered his memory ſtill dear to his ſubjects.

After the death of this princeſs without children, he eſpouſed Pythodoris, daughter of a rich Aſiatic, by whom he had two ſons, Polemon and Zeno; with a daughter, who was married to a king of Thrace. The time of Polemon's death is uncertain; as we only know from Strabo that he fell in a battle with ſome neighbouring nation.

We have but three medals of this prince; and one of them, being ſtruck in his kingdom of Pontus, before he mounted the throne of Boſphorus (for the head of Antony is on the reverſe, who died before this laſt elevation), it does not enter into my plan to give here. Of the other two, Mr. Cary has only engraved the following, as the moſt curious, from having a Greek inſcription on one ſide and a Latin one on the other:

Braſs:—firſt publiſhed in the work of Vaillant.

Obverſe: The head of Polemon I. encircled with a diadem.

Legend, Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ.

Reverſe: The head of Auguſtus Cæſar, without ornament.

Legend, Latin: IMP. CAESAR. AVG.

Beſide theſe medals, a curious Greek inſcription found at Cumes, in Eolia, ſhows, that Polemon was high prieſt of a temple conſecrated in that city to Rome and Auguſtus; a ſure ſign that he had been much reſpected for his virtues before he was elevated to the rank of a king; as Cumes is even in a different province from his native city (Laodicea), which he and his father Zeno defended ſo valiantly in the year of Rome 714, when Labienus ravaged Aſia; till Pompey haſtened from Egypt to their aſſiſtance, and defeated him, which

probably laid the foundation of all Polemon's greatneſs[212]. The inſcription is in honour of one Labeon, a citizen of Cumes, and is very long; but the part which refers to Polemon is as follows:

ΜΗΝΟΣ ΦΡΑΤΡΙΩ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΠΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ
ΤΑΣ ΡΩΜΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ
ΥΙΩ ΘΕΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ
ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΤΩ
ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΟΣ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΔΕ
ΛΕΥΚΙΩ ΟΥΑΚΚΙΩ ΛΕΥΚΙΩ ΥΙΩ ΑΙΜΙΛΙΑ
ΛΑΒΕΩΝΩΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΥΜΑΙΩ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΦΟΡΩ ΔΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΤΩ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΔΑ.

" The 21ſt of the month Phratrien, Polemon, ſon of Zeno, of Laodocea, " being prieſt of the temple dedicated to Rome and to the Emperor Cæſar, " ſon of Julia, the divine Auguſtus, ſovereign Pontiff and father of his " country — Lucius Vaccius Labeon, of the tribe of Æmilia, ſon of Lucius, " friend and benefactor of the Cumeans, being Pretanus; and Straton, ſon " of Heraclidus, being Stephaneforus," &c.

N. B. The month Phratrien was unknown to Antiquaries till this inſcription was found.

XVIth King. — SAUROMATES the First.

Sauromates I. mounted the throne of Boſphorus after the death of Polemon, whoſe widow, Pythodoris, ſeems to have retired to his kingdom of Pontus, where ſhe was ſuffered to reign; as we have two of her coins that were ſtruck when queen of the country, after the death of the king her huſband.

This king added the name of the Roman emperor, his lord paramount, to his own; a pretty common practice among the tributary Greek princes. He ſeems firſt to have taken the name of Julius during the reign of his benefactor

[212] It was a daughter of this prince, married to Cotys the Vth, King of Thrace, the protector of Ovid in his exile, who ſo boldly accuſed her huſband's murderer before the Roman Senate, and brought him to puniſhment, though likewiſe King of Thrace.

Auguſtus,

Auguſtus [213], who confirmed him on the throne; and afterwards, conſidering himſelf as a client of the Julian family, he only added that of Tiberius to his former borrowed appellation, to pay court to the Imperial Cæſars, whoſe tributary he was. We accordingly ſee on his coins, not only the name of Tiberius Julius Sauromates, but likewiſe all the regalia ſent him from Rome at his inveſtiture; ſuch as the crown, the curule chair, and the parazonium, or truncheon, joined to his own arms, as on

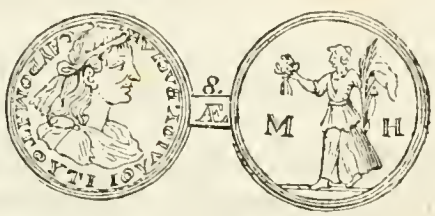
Plate I [214]. fig. 7. Braſs:—in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin.

Obverſe: The crown, curule chair, parazonium, and arms of Sauromates I.

Legend, Greek: Τ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΣ CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: The letters HM [215] in a crown of laurel.

Plate I. fig. 8, braſs: in the King of France's cabinet.



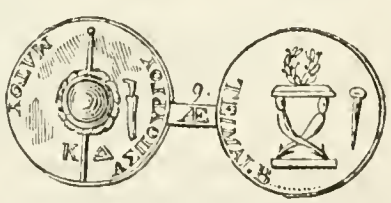
Obverſe: The head of Sauromates I. encircled with the diadem.

Legend, Greek: ΤΙ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΣ CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: An erect figure of Victory, holding in the right hand a crown of laurel, and on the left a branch of palm, with the letters MH.

A third Medal of the ſame prince, which Mr. Cary regards as the moſt curious.

Plate I. fig. 9, braſs: in the cabinet of the King of France.



Obverſe: The ſhield and lance, which ſeems to have been the proper arms of the kings of Boſphorus; with a kind of inſtrument beſide it, and the letters ΚΔ.

Legend:

[213] Vaillant has publiſhed a Medal of this prince, with the head of Auguſtus on the reverſe; which ſhows that he held the Boſphoric ſceptre under that Emperor.

[214] See the ſeries of Coins, &c. at the end of this article.

[215] I take this occaſion to ſay, that, excepting the Greek letters which mark the dates of the Boſphoric coins, I ſeldom or never take any notice of one or two detached letters ſeen upon moſt

Legend: The mutilated inſcriptions of the two ſides of this medal muſt be read together to make ſenſe; and the words compleated: ΤΕΙΜΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ ΑΣΠΟΥΡΓΟΥ: which Mr. Cary tranſlates—"The honours (poſ-"ſibly meaning the regalia) of the King Sauromates, ſon of Aſpurgus."

Mr. Cary doubts whether the cuſtom of naming the father after mentioning the ſon exiſted in the Boſphorus: a queſtion that I can anſwer in the affirmative, from inſcriptions lately found there; and, indeed, the practice obtained among all the hordes from that country; the Ruſſians ſay, to this day, John, the ſon of Charles, when they ſpeak of any one; and our *Mac*donalds of Scotland, the *Fitz*herberts of Wales, and the *O'*Donollys of Ireland, all ſhow that the ſame uſage once exiſted in the Britiſh dominions.

XVIIth King.—RHESCUPORIS the First.

(In the 783d year of Rome.)

On the coins of this prince, who ſucceeded Sauromates the Firſt, we begin to find the date of the Boſphoric æra; and Mr. Cary gives three of them.

Plate I. fig. 10, gold: in the King of France's cabinet.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis I. without ornament.

Legend: The monogram of his name and dignity coupled together; ſo that we muſt read it ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΗΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΣ, with the date ΣΚΤ or 326 of the Boſphoric æra, anſwering to 782 of the Roman.

Reverſe: The head of the Roman Emperor Tiberius.

Another, exactly the ſame, in the cabinet of M. Apoſtolo Zeno, of Venice; differing only in the date, which is ΑΑΤ, or 331 of the Boſphoric æra, anſwering to 787 of the Roman.

of them; becauſe Antiquaries are ſo much divided in opinion as to their meaning, that nothing certain can be ſaid on the ſubject. But I have never failed to place them in my rough ſketches of the medals (though not in my deſcriptions of them), in hopes that diſcoveries may hereafter be made, which may throw light on theſe myſtic characters. The HM on the above medal comes under this head.

Plate

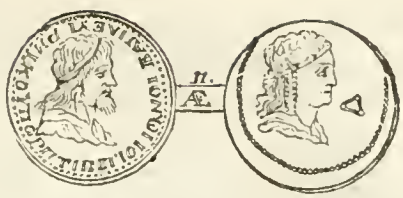


Plate I. fig. 11, braſs: in the cabinet of M. Le Beau.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΗΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΣ.

Reverſe: The head of a woman, likewiſe encircled with a diadem, and the letrer Δ.

Plate I. fig. 12.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: The ſame monogram of his name and dignity, as already explained of fig. 10, $\overline{\text{ΓΑΡ}}$.

Reverſe: The head of Caligula.

Legend: ΓΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ . . . .

We ſee then, that the interval between the firſt and ſecond Polemon was filled up by the two laſt-mentioned princes, Sauromates and Rheſcuporis, probably owing to the tender age of the heirs of Polemon I. who were children when he died, and the Roman policy of not permitting the Boſphoric ſceptre to remain *ad interim* in the hand of their mother, who held at the ſame time that of Pontus, as well as Cappadocia, by her ſecond marriage with its ſovereign Archelaus.

XVIIIth King. — POLEMON the Second.

(In the 791ſt year of Rome, A. D. 38.)

This ſovereign received the Boſphoric ſceptre from Caligula in the 791ſt year of Rome, as we learn from Dion; but he did not long enjoy that dignity, as we find it beſtowed four years afterwards on Mithridates II. (of Boſphorus) by the Emperor Claudius; for which he received a part of Cilicia as an equivalent; and it might be ſo from his ſituation as king of Pontus; but we find that he even gave up this laſt kingdom to become a Roman province A. D. 65; but for what new equivalent is unknown to the moderns; ſo that he at laſt only retained

re ained the part which he had of Cilicia. Joſephus mentions his marrying Berenice the widow of Herod, in the laſt chapter of Book XIX.

The Medal of him given here was ſtruck in the eighteenth year of his reign in Pontus.

Plate II. fig. 1, ſilver: in the cabinet of the King of France.

Obverſe: The head of Polemon, encircled with a diadem.

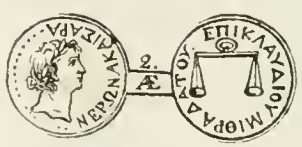
Legend, Greek: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟC.

Reverſe: The head of Nero, crowned with laurel.

Legend: ΕΤΟΥC, with the letters ΙΗ.

XIXth King. — MITHRIDATES the Second, of Boſphorus.

(In the 795th year of Rome, A. D. 42.)



Mithridates, who, as we have juſt ſaid, was inveſted in the kingdom of Boſphorus by the Roman Emperor Claudius, then lord paramount, was of the blood of Mithridates the Great, though his particular relation to him is not handed down; for Dion ſpeaks indiſtinctly of this prince's being admitted into the Roman Senate, where he returns thanks in Greek for the kingdom of Boſphorus. This good intelligence with Rome, however, did not laſt long; for he was deprived of his throne, and his brother Cotys placed on it by the Romans, who carried him to Rome, where he held the bold language of an injured ſovereign, ſix or ſeven years after having returned thanks in open Senate for his kingdom.

We have the following coin ſtruck by this prince:

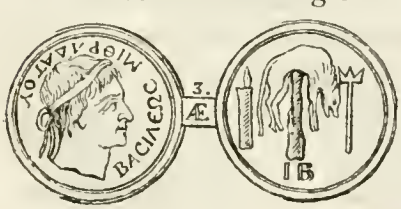


Plate II. fig. 3, braſs: in the cabinet of the King of France.

Obverſe: A young head of Mithridates II. encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe:

Reverſe: The ſpoils of a lion ſupported by the club of Hercules; with a bow in its caſe, or ſheath, on one ſide, and the trident of Neptune on the other; with the letters IB below the club.

Theſe bearings on the reverſe ſeem to indicate, that this prince had choſen Hercules and Neptune as marked objects of worſhip, or that he celebrated games in honour of them.

XXth KING.—COTYS the FIRST.

(In the 802d year of Rome, and the 49th of our Æra.)

We are left in ignorance as to the father of this and the laſt Boſphoric king; or whether they were not merely ſons of the ſame mother.

There was a gold medal of this prince in the cabinet of M. Apoſtolo Zeno, in Venice.

Obverſe: The head of Agrippina, mother of Nero (who ſhared the authority with her ſon during the firſt years of his reign, and often appears on his money).

Reverſe: The head of Cotys the firſt.

Legend, Greek: BAK (probably meaning ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ), and the date BNT or 352 of the Boſphoric æra, anſwering to the 809th of the Roman.

Plate II. fig. 4, gold: in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin:

Obverſe: A head crowned with laurel. no inſcription.

Reverſe: A different head, alſo crowned with laurel.

Legend: The monogram $\overset{P}{\text{NEK}}$, or NEPK; which probably means NEPΩN KOTYΣ, Nero Kotys (as he, moſt probably, had taken the name of his lord paramount, like ſome of his predeceſſors), with the date ΘNT. or 359 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 816 of the Roman, or the 9th year of Nero's reign.

XXIſt King. — RHESCUPORIS the Second.

(In the 836th year of Rome, or 83d of our Æra.)

We know ſo little about this prince, that his very exiſtence would have eſcaped the moderns, had not one of his coins, in gold, been found; which is in the cabinet of M. Apoſtolo Zeno, of Venice.

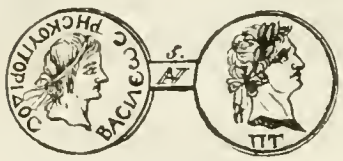


Plate II. fig. 5.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis II. encircled with a diadem.

Legend, Greek: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΡΗCΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΔΟC.

Reverſe: The head of Domitian, crowned with laurel; with the date ΙΙΤ, or 380 of the Boſphoric æra, correſponding with the 837th of the Roman, or the 3d of Domitian.

XXIId King. — SAUROMATES[216] the Second.

This is the King of Boſphorus of whom the younger Pliny (miniſter of Trojan) ſpeaks in his Letters, on account of the embaſſy which he ſent to his Imperial maſter: and, indeed, this is all that we know of him, except from his coins; and we may here remark, that numiſmatic inquiries never appeared to more advantage than in the hiſtory of the Boſphorus; where, without the aid of medals, we ſhould have been deprived of even the feeble light that has been thrown on the hiſtory of that antient kingdom.

Fortunately, the cabinets of Europe contain ſeveral coins of this prince; which I ſhall here deſcribe from Mr. Cary's French work, in the order of their dates, as uſual, to aſcertain the chronology of the country.

[216] This name of a famous people (and which means *Northern Meads*, or a ſubdiviſion of that nation, dwelling or ranging between the Don, Volga, and Caucaſus), one might ſuſpect, was aſſumed by ſome of the Boſphoric kings (for we have ſix of the name), to indicate their deſcent from the antient lords of that country, long prior to the Dynaſty then filling the Boſphoric throne.

Vaillant,

Vaillant, from whom Mr. Cary often borrows, has publiſhed the following Medal, found in the cabinet of Zeno at Venice, which contains ſo many from the Boſphorus; a circumſtance that ſurpriſes me the leſs, on reflecting that the Republic had for ages a great commercial eſtabliſhment in the very heart of that kingdom, and held their ſettlement in Aſoff, the Tanais of the Antients, on the Boſphoric Sea, even long after the Genoeſe were maſters of the Euxine, and had diſpoſſeſſed them of Caffa, Soudak, &c.

Plate II. fig. 6, gold: in the King of France's cabinet.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates II. encircled with a diadem and long whiſkers.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΩΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Trajan, crowned with laurel; and under it the date ΗΥ, or 408 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 865 of the Roman, or the the 15th of Trajan.

Another, of gold, in the Teſoro Britannica.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates, with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Hadrian, crowned with laurel; below it, ΓΙΥ, or 413 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 870 of the Roman, and the firſt of Hadrian.

Another, of gold, in the cabinet of the King of France: the ſame ſtamp, with the date ΗΙΤ, 418 of the Boſphoric æra, correſponding with 875 of the Roman, and the 6th of Hadrian.

Another, of braſs, in the Pembroke cabinet: the ſame; with the date ΑΚΤ, or 421 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 878 of the Roman, and the ninth of Hadrian.

Plate II. fig. 7. In the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates II. with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: An eagle, holding a crown of laurel in its bill, with expanded wings.

Date: ΒΚΥ, or 422 of the Boſphoric æra; correſponding with 879 of the Roman, and the 10th of Hadrian.

Plate II. fig. 8, braſs: in the cabinet of the King of France.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CAΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: A crown of laurel, with the Greek letters MH in the centre of it.

XXIIId KING. — COTYS the SECOND.

Two antient authors have handed down the name of this prince, and little more than the name; viz. Plegon, the freed man of Hadrian, in his hiſtory of the Olympiads, of which only a fragment remains; and Arrian, in his famous Periplos Ponto Euxin. ſo often cited in this modern Tour of the ſame coaſt.

The firſt of theſe authors, we are told by the Imperial hiſtorian Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus, who had read his whole work (ſince loſt), ſays, that Hadrian had given the Boſphoric throne to Cotys; and Arrian, on ſending his Periplos to his maſter Hadrian in the 15th year of his reign, who had commiſſioned him to make it, writes in his letter, "So ſoon as I heard of the death of Cotys, "king of Boſphorus, I haſtened to ſend you this account of the voyage that "may be made by ſea to that kingdom, that you may be acquainted with the "country if you intend to interfere in the arrangement of its internal affairs." Now, as I have proved (ſays Mr. Cary), that Arrian wrote his Periplos in the 15th of Hadrian, of courſe, the death of Cotys muſt have happened that year; and we have a coin of his in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin, ſtruck only one year before his death, bearing his head on one ſide, encircled with a diadem, and the inſcription ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΟΤΥΟC; on the other, that of Hadrian, with laurel, and the date ΣΚΥ, or 426 of the Boſphoric æra, anſwering to 883 of the Roman, and the 14th of Hadrian.

The following Medal of the ſame prince is likewiſe in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin, as well as in that of Mr. Fawkener, of London.

Plate

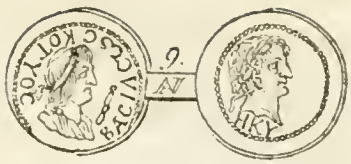


Plate II. fig. 9, gold: in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin, &c.

Obverſe: The head of Cotys II. encircled with a diadem; before it a club.

Legend, Greek: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΟΤΥΟC.

Reverſe: The head of Hadrian, crowned with laurel: below it, the date ΗΚΥ, or 428 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 885 of the Roman, or the 16th of Hadrian. This was the very year of Cotys's death, as the medal of his ſucceſſor Rhœmetalces proves moſt evidently, being ſtruck the ſame year.

There are ſtill two more coins of the ſame prince given by Mr. Cary, but without a date.

Plate II. fig. 10.

Obverſe: The head of Cotys II. encircled with a diadem; and the trident of Neptune before the buſt.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΟΤΥΟC.

Reverſe: A crown of laurel, with the Greek letters ΜΗ in the centre of it.

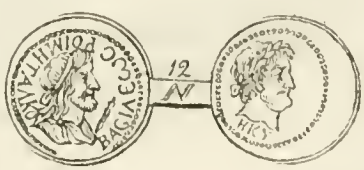
Plate II. fig. 11. A third medal of the ſame prince, in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin.

Obverſe: The monogram of Kotys, ΒΑΚ (with ΚΔ below it); which means ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΟΤΥΟC.

Reverſe: A temple, with the inſcription ΚΑΠΕ; which Mr. Cary ſuppoſes to be the beginning of the word ΚΑΠΕΤΟΛΙΟΝ, under the idea that the temple was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

XXIVth King. — RHŒMETALCES.

(In the 885th year of Rome, and 132d of our Æra.)



This prince mounted the Boſphoric throne in the 885th year of the Roman æra, during the reign of Hadrian; but, from a paſſage of Capitolinus, in his Life of Antoninus Pius, it

would ſeem (according to Mr. Cary's reading of it), that his ſucceſſor Eupator had made efforts to ſeize the ſceptre of Rhœmetalces during his life; but was diſcountenanced by the Emperor Antoninus, then become lord paramount by the death of Hadrian, and who ſecured the throne to Rhœmetalces till death opened a peaceable and lawful road for Eupator to aſſume the regal dignity.

We have ſeveral coins of this prince in the cabinets of Europe.

Plate III. fig. 1, gold: in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin.

Obverſe: The head of Rhœmetalces, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Hadrian, crowned with laurel; and below it the date ΓΑΥ, or 433 of the Boſphoric æra; according with 890 of the Roman, and the 21ſt of Hadrian.

Another, in the cabinet of Mr. Fawkener, in London.

Obverſe: the ſame as the laſt.

Reverſe: The head of Antoninus Pius, crowned with laurel; and below it, the date ΜΥ, or 440 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 897 of the Roman, or the 7th of Antoninus Pius.

A third medal, of gold: exactly the ſame as the laſt; with the date ΒΜΥ, or 442 of the Boſphoric, correſponding with 899 of the Roman æra, and the 9th of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

A fourth, of gold, in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin; the ſame, with the date ΕΜΥ, or 445 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 902 of the Roman, or the 12th of Antoninus.

Plate III. fig. 2, braſs: in the King of France's cabinet.

Obverſe: The head of Rhœmetalces, encircled with a diadem; and before it a trident.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ.

Reverſe: A victory, on tiptoe, holding a crown of laurel in her right hand, and a branch of palm in her left; before her, the Greek letter M; and behind her, H

XXVth

XXVth King.—EUPATOR.

On the death of Rhœmetalces, Antoninus inveſted his turbulent rival, Eupator, with the Boſphoric ſceptre, though he had maintained the late king in the enjoyment of it when unjuſtly attacked by his ſucceſſor, and protected him till his death.

This prince is mentioned by Lucian in the following paſſage:

"I found there ambaſſadors from the Boſphorus, who had come by ſea to "Bythinia with the annual tribute from their king Eupator;" and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that Eupator is meant (though not named) by Philoſtratus in his Life of the Sophiſts, when he mentions as his cotemporary, a king of Boſphorus, who had ſo much knowledge and liking to Grecian literature, that he travelled through Ionia to improve it. While at Smyrna, the philoſophers of that city all courted his acquaintance, except the ſophiſt Polemon, who refuſed to wait on his majeſty; and, as that ſovereign was curious to hear him, he obliged the king to come to his houſe, and even received a ſum of money for his acquaintance.

We have a number of medals or coins of this prince. Mr. Cary gives Engravings of two, and deſcribes the others.

Plate III. fig. 3. In the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin.

Obverſe: The head of Eupator, encircled with a diadem; and before it a ſceptre.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟC.

Reverſe: The head of Antoninus Pius, crowned with laurel: with the date ΒΝΥ, or 452 of the Boſphoric æra, correſponding with 909 of the Roman, and the 19th of Antoninus.

Another, of gold: exactly the ſame, but without a ſceptre, in Lebret's cabinet; with the date ΓΝΥ, or 453 of the Boſphoric, agreeing with 910 of the Roman æra.

A third, of gold, in the cabinet of Mr. Boſanquet, of London; exactly the ſame as the two foregoing, except that, inſtead of a ſceptre as in the firſt, there is a club placed before the head of Eupator: and the date on the reverſe is ΕΝΓ, or 455 of the Boſphoric, agreeing with 912 of the Roman æra.

A fourth,

A fourth, exactly the ſame, in gold; with a ſceptre, or javelin; and the date ΣΝΥ, or 456 of the Boſphoric, correſponding with 913 of the Roman æra.

A fifth coin in gold, belonging to Mr. Pellerin.

Obverſe: The head of Eupator, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟC.

Reverſe: The heads of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, without any ornament; and the date ΘΝΤ, or 459 of the Boſphoric æra, anſwering to 916 of the Roman.

A ſixth coin, of gold, in Mr. Pellerin's cabinet, exactly the ſame; with the date ΞΥ, 460 of the Boſphoric, or 917 of the Roman æra.

A ſeventh, in gold, belonging to Mr. Pellerin, exactly the ſame, except a ſceptre between the heads of Aurelius and Verus, and the date ΑΞΥ, 461 of the Boſphoric, or 918 of the Roman æra.

Here follow two more coins of Eupator, with the head of M. Aurelius alone on the reverſe, after the death of his colleague Verus.

The one is in the cabinet of St. Peterſburg, and bears the date ΣΞΥ, or 466 of the Boſphoric æra, and 923 of the Roman.

The other, of gold, in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin, has the date ΖΞΥ, or 467, of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 924 of the Roman.

Of the laſt medal of Eupator mentioned by Mr. Cary, that gentleman gives an Engraving; and it is a corroborating proof, that Jupiter Capitolinus was adored in the Boſphorus.

Obverſe: The monogram of Eupator in a crown of laurel, which muſt be read ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟC, with the Greek letters NO above the monogram, and ΚΔ below it; which are not attempted to be explained, except by ſuppoſing the NO a miſtake in the reading or engraving of the coin, and put there for the ſemi-circle, or little flouriſh, which we have always ſeen above the monograms containing the name and dignity of the Boſphoric kings. See Plate I. fig. 10 and 12, and plate II. fig. 11.

Reverſe: A temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with the Greek letters ΚΑΠΕ, for Capitolinus.

XXVIth King. — SAUROMATES III.

Mr. Cary mentions ſeveral coins of this prince, and deſcribes the two following (probably on account of their dates), before he gives an Engraving of a third, not ſtruck till twelve years after the firſt of the two, which is in gold, in the cabinet of Mr. Fawkener, of London.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates III. encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Commodus, crowned with laurel; and below it, the date ΖΟΥ, or 477 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 934 of the Roman.

Another, of gold, in the collection of Antonio Nani, of Venice; exactly the ſame, except a globe before the Roman Emperor's head, with the date ΖΠΥ, or 487 of the Boſphoric, anſwering to 944 of the Roman æra.

But the medal of which he gives the Engraving is in the cabinet of the Abbé de Rothelin.

Plate III. fig. 5.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates III. with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Commodus, with a crown of laurel; and the date ΘΠΥ, or 489 of the Boſphoric æra, agreeing with 945 or 946 of the Roman; but it muſt have been ſtruck in the very beginning of that laſt year at lateſt, as Commodus died on the laſt day of 945; and his death muſt, in all probability, have been known in the Boſphorus two months afterwards.

Another, of gold, in the cabinet of Mr. Pellerin, is exactly the ſame on the obverſe; but the

Reverſe bears the head of Severus, crowned with laurel; and before it a ſtar: with the date ΦΥ, 490 of the Boſphoric æra, or 947 of the Roman.

Another, of gold, in the cabinet of the King of France, exactly the ſame with the laſt as to the heads of Sauromates and Septimus Severus; except that the

the date ΒΦΥ, or 492 of the Boſphoric æra, 949 of the Roman, is placed below the buſt of the Emperor; and Mr. Pellerin has a duplicate of it in braſs, with a globe before the head of Severus.

In the King of France's cabinet there is another gold medal, exactly the ſame, with the ſole difference of a ſtar before the head of Severus, and the date ΔΦΥ, 494 of the Boſphoric æra, or 951 of the Roman.

Another, of gold, in the collection of Mr. Pellerin, with the ſame obverſe and legend.

Reverſe: The heads of Severus and Caracalla, crowned with laurel, with a creſcent between them; and the date ΕΦΥ, 495 of the Boſphoric æra, or 952 of the Roman.

In the King of France's cabinet there is another, in gold, exactly the ſame; except a ſceptre between the heads of the Roman Emperors, and the date ΑΦ, 501 of the Boſphoric æra, or 958 of the Roman.

After theſe, which he only deſcribes, Mr. Cary gives Engravings of the four following medals of Sauromates.

Plate III. fig. 6, braſs: in the King of France's cabinet.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates III. encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ.

Reverſe: A man on horſeback, with the right hand raiſed, and a ſpear in the left; above him a ſtar, and the letter B below his horſe's fore feet.

Plate III. fig. 7, braſs: in the King of France's cabinet.

Obverſe: The ſame head and legend as the laſt.

Reverſe: A female, ſitting, with a bunch of corn on her head: a ſmall globe in her right, and a ſpear in her left hand; before her ſtands the buſt of the Emperor Severus, crowned with laurel; and behind her chair, a kind of military enſign; above this military ſtandard is a croſs, and on each ſide of her feet a Greek letter, viz. B before, and M behind them.

Plate

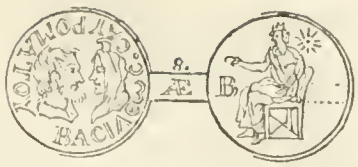


Plate III. fig. 8, braſs: in the cabinet of M. Pellerin.

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates, and of a half-veiled female, face to face.

Legend: BACIΛEΩC CAYPOMATOY.

Reverſe: A female, ſitting in a chair, holding a *Patera*, or libation cup, in her right hand; behind her neck, a ſtar; and the letter B before her knees.

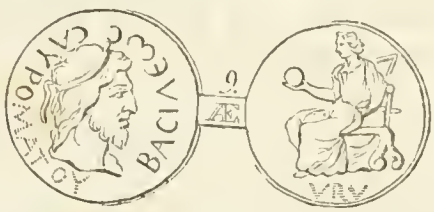


Plate III. fig. 9, braſs: in the cabinet of Lord Pembroke:

Obverſe: The head of Sauromates, with a diadem, and the ordinary legend.

Reverſe: A female, ſitting on a chair, with a globe in her right hand; behind her ſhoulders the Greek letter A, and below her feet VRV.

Mr. Cary mentions four more coins of the ſame king; but as they have all been ſtruck in the reigns of the ſame Roman Emperors already ſtampt on his medals given in this Work, without any date, and as he does not give engravings of them to enable us to gueſs at the period by their ſtile, they cannot ſerve any hiſtorical purpoſe here, and are of courſe omitted.

XXVIIth King. — RHESCUPORIS III.

This is one of ſeveral kings of the Boſphorus not even mentioned in the detached fragments of the hiſtory of that antient kingdom which have come down to our days, and whoſe memories are only reſcued from oblivion by their coins picked up by Antiquaries; a ſtrong proof of the great utility of numiſmatic reſearches, and the aid that it affords to the hiſtorian; more particularly when dates are found upon ſuch medals, with the portraits of Emperors that we are well acquainted with. As for example, in this very inſtance; Mr. Pellerin has a gold medal of Rheſcuporis III.

Plate III. fig. 10.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis III. encircled with a diadem.

Legend: BACIΛEΩC PHCKOYΠΩPIΔOC.

Reverſe: The head of Caracalla, crowned with

laurel, with a ſtar before it; and under the buſt the date AIΦ, 511 of the Boſphoric æra, or 968 of the Roman.

M. Pellerin has another, in gold, of the ſame prince, exactly the ſame as the laſt, except that a ſceptre is placed before Caracalla, with the date BIΦ, 512 of the Boſphoric æra, or 969 of the Roman.

A third is deſcribed by Spanheim, with exactly the ſame obverſe.

Reverſe: The head of Alexander Severus, crowned with laurel; before his buſt a ſtar, and below it the date AKI, 521 of the Boſphoric æra, or 978 of the Roman.

XXVIIIth King. — COTYS III.

The cabinets of Europe contain three coins of this prince.

Plate IV. fig. 1, ſilver: in the King of France's collection.

Obverſe: The head of Cotys III. with a ſceptre before it, and encircled with a diadem.

Legend: BACIΛEΩC KΩTYΩC.

Reverſe: The head of Alexander Severus, crowned with laurel, and below it, the date ΘKΦ, 529 of the Boſphoric æra, or 986 of the Roman.

Another, the ſame, in braſs: in the King of France's cabinet. And a third, publiſhed in the Theſ. Numiſ. of Patin, with the date ΛΦ, 530 of the Boſphoric æra, or 98 of the Roman.

XXIXth King. — ININTHIMEVUS.

We owe the knowledge of the exiſtence of this Boſphoric king to the Antiquary Seguin, who publiſhed one of his coins in ſilver, which is at preſent in the King of France's cabinet.

Plate

Plate IV. fig. 2.

Obverſe: The head of Ininthimevus, encircled with a diadem, and a ſceptre before it.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΝΙΝΘΙΜΗΤΩΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Alexander Severus, crowned with laurel; and below it the date ΑΑΦ, 531 of the Boſphoric, or 988 of the Roman æra.

We ſee by the medal of Cotys, dated 530, and that of his ſucceſſor, ſtruck in 531, that this prince could not have reigned a full year.

XXXth King. — RHESCUPORIS IV.

The cabinets of Europe contain a number of medals of this prince; the firſt of which ſhows, as ſaid above, that his predeceſſor could not have reigned a year complete; as it has on the reverſe the head of Severus, with laurel, and a ſceptre, and the date ΑΛΦ, 531 of the Boſphoric, or 988 of the Roman æra; ſo that Ininthimevus died, and Rheſcuporis mounted the throne in this very year.

The next is a ſilver medal, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Boſanquet, of London, having on the

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΡΗCΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΔ.

Reverſe: The head of Gordianus Pius, crowned with laurel; and before it a club, with the date ΣΛΦ, 533 of the Boſphoric æra, or 993 of the Roman.

A third, exactly the ſame, of ſilver; in the cabinet of the Abbé Rothelin, with the date ΘΛΦ, 536 of the Boſphoric, or 996 of the Roman æra.

A fourth, of braſs; and a fifth, in ſilver: with the ſame obverſe and legend, given by Vaillant in his kings of Boſphorus.

Reverſe: The head of Philip, crowned with laurel; and below it the date ΑΜΦ, 541 of the Boſphoric, agreeing with 998 of the Roman æra.

A ſixth, of braſs: exactly the ſame, with the date ΒΜΦ, 542 of the Boſphoric, or 999 of the Roman æra.

A ſeventh, in ſilver, in the cabinet of Dr. Mead, of London: exactly the ſame, with the exception of a ſceptre, inſtead of a club, before the buſt of the

Roman Emperor; with the date ΓΜΦ, 543 of the Boſphoric, or 1000 of the Roman æra.

An eighth, of braſs, in the cabinet of the Earl of Pembroke, with the ſame buſt of Rheſcuporis and Philip, and the date ΕΜΦ, 545 of the Boſphoric æra, or the 1002d of Rome.

A ninth, of ſilver, in the ſame cabinet, with the head of the Emperor Decius, and the date ΣΜΦ, 546 of the Boſphoric æra, or 1003 of the Roman.

A tenth, of the mixt-metal pothin, in the King of France's cabinet.

Plate IV. fig. 3.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΡΗCΚΟΥΠ ΡΙΔ.

Reverſe: The head of the Emperor Decius, crowned with laurel; before it a club; and under the buſt the date ZΜΦ, 547 of the Boſphoric, or 1004 of the Roman æra.

An eleventh, of braſs, in the Pembroke collection.

Obverſe and *Legend*, exactly the ſame.

Reverſe: The head of Gallus, and either Voluſianus or Hoſtilianus; and the date ΗΜΦ, 548 of the Boſphoric, or 1005 of the Roman æra.

A twelfth, of pothin, in the King of France's cabinet.

Obverſe: the ſame.

Reverſe: the head of the uſurper Æmilius, who aſſumed the purple in Italy, with the date ΘΜΦ, 549 of the Boſphoric æra, or 1006 of Rome.

A thirteenth, of braſs, in the King of France's cabinet, has exactly the ſame bearings as the laſt, with the ſame date.

A fourteenth, of braſs, in the Pembroke collection, has the head and legend of Rheſcuporis on the *Obverſe*, with a trident; and on the

Reverſe: The head of the Roman Emperor Gallienus, with Odenathus, king of Palmyra, the huſband of the famous Zenobia; and the date ΞΦ, 560 of the Boſphoric, or 1017 of the Roman æra.

Laſtly, there is a braſs medal of the ſame prince in the King of France's cabinet, with the head of Gallienus on the reverſe, and the date 563 of the Boſphoric, or 1020 of the Roman æra.

XXXIſt King. — TEIRANES.

This is another of the Boſphoric kings only known to us by one of his coins, which Mr. Cary fortunately received directly from that antient kingdom, bearing a date, as well as his name, which ſhews us that he held his ſceptre under the Roman Emperor Probus, whoſe buſt is ſeen on the reverſe, as lord paramount.

Plate IV. fig. 4.

Obverſe: The head of Teiranes, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΕΙΡΑΝΟΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Probus, crowned with laurel; with the date ΓΟΦ, 573 of the Boſphoric æra, or 1030 of the Roman.

XXXIId King. — THOTHORSES.

It is very poſſible, that newly diſcovered Boſphoric medals may fill up the long interval of twenty years between the laſt coin that we have of Teiranes, and the firſt of this prince, with the portrait and name of ſome unknown king of this country; but till then we muſt regard Thothorſes as the immediate ſucceſſor of Teiranes; and even of him we have no more information than what we obtain from five of his coins in the cabinets of Europe; which ſhow that Diocleſian was his lord paramount through the whole of his reign, as the buſt of that Emperor appears on the reverſe of all his medals. Mr. Cary only gives one of them, but deſcribes the others in the order of their dates.

The firſt, of braſs, in the Pembroke collection, has on the

Obverſe: The head of Thothorſes, encircled with a diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΘΟΘΟΡCΟΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Diocleſian, crowned with laurel; and the date ΓqΦ, 593 of the Boſphoric æra, or 1050 of the Roman; with a Φ in the field of the medal.

The

The ſecond, of braſs, in the ſame collection, differs in nothing but the date ΔqΦ, 594 of the Boſphoric, or 1051 of the Roman æra.

The third, of braſs, in the King of France's cabinet, only differs in having a trident before the head of Thothorſes, and the date ΣqΦ, 596 of the Boſphoric, or 1053 of the Roman æra.

The fourth is the one of which Mr. Cary gives an engraving; it is of braſs, and in the King of France's cabinet.

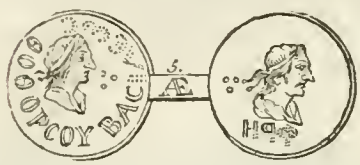


Plate IV. fig. 5.

Obverſe: The head of Thothorſes, encircled with a diadem; before it, three points.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΘΟΘΟΡCΟΥ.

Reverſe: The head of Diocleſian, crowned with laurel; and three points, or dots, behind his buſt; with the date ΗqΦ, 598 of the Boſphoric, or 1055 of the Roman æra.

The fifth medal of this prince is of braſs, in the Pembroke collection, and differs in nothing from the former, but in having a trident before the head of the Roman Emperor, with the date ΘqΦ, 599 of the Boſphoric æra, or 1056 of the Roman.

XXXIIId King. — SAUROMATES IV.

There are reaſons for ſuppoſing that the father of this prince, who, the Imperial hiſtorian Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus tells us, was named Rheſcuporis, reigned a few weeks before he was taken priſoner by the Cherſonites, and that his ſon mounted the vacant throne; for, longer his reign could not have been, becauſe Thothorſes ſtruck money in the very laſt year of Diocleſian, and Rheſcuporis was made priſoner in the time of the ſame Emperor. For theſe reaſons, and becauſe no medal of him has yet been found, Mr. Cary has left Rheſcuporis out of the catalogue of Boſphoric kings, till the diſcovery of ſome one of his coins ſhall place him there.

To proceed with the hiſtory of Sauromates IV. ſon of this prince Rheſcuporis. We are told by the Imperial hiſtorian, in his work, "De Adminiſtrando Imperio," quoted above, that he made war on the Romans, overcame the

the people under their obedience, and had advanced with his victorious army as far as the river Halys on the oppoſite coaſt, before Dioclefian had time to ſend Conſtance, father of Conſtantine the great, againſt him. That General, however, found him ſo ſtrong, that he was obliged to engage the Cherſonites, the antient and conſtant enemies of the Boſphorites, to make a diverſion in his favour; which they did ſo effectually, as to oblige Sauromates to return to the defence of his own dominions, and redeem his wives, whom they had taken priſoners, by making peace with the Romans. For this important ſervice, Dioclefian remitted the tribute which the Cherſonites annually paid the Romans, to whom they ſeem to have conſtantly remained ſubmiſſive; poſſibly to gain a powerful ſupport againſt the kings of Boſphorus, their natural rivals in trade, as well as dominion in the Taurida: for it ſeems to have been the policy of thoſe crafty conquerors of the antient world, to ſow diſſentions among the native princes, and thereby keep the whole in ſubjection from weakneſs, as the Tartars of the Golden Horde did the Ruſſians for two centuries.

Mr. Cary gives us no medal of either this prince or his ſucceſſor of the ſame name; but a *coin of a king Sauromates*, which he has placed among the uncertain (*incerta*), I think muſt have been ſtruck by one or other of them, for the following reaſons: firſt, becauſe this king Sauromates is the only prince of the whole Boſphoric Dynaſty (whoſe coins are known) that aſſumes the laurel crown (See the medal given in the margin from Plate IV. fig. 8), which ſeems to have been always appropriated to the lords paramount, the Roman Cæſars, or the Boſphoric money, while the tributary king conſtantly appears with the regal fillet, or diadem, round his head. Now this boldneſs perfectly agrees with the account that we have from Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, that Sauromates IV. and V. had thrown off the Roman yoke, and ſet the Cæſars at defiance.—Secondly, becauſe we do not find (as on the other Boſphoric coins in general) the head of a Roman Emperor on the reverſe; but in its place a martial figure, indicating the independent military force of the reigning prince.

XXXIVth King. — SAUROMATES V.

This prince, ſome years after the acceſſion of Conſtantine to the Imperial throne, attacked the Cherſonites, to revenge the diſgrace and captivity of his grandfather, Rheſcuporis; but he was beaten, and obliged to fix, by the oath of himſelf and his chieftains, the boundaries of the two countries, which they were never to paſs (poſſibly not to go beyond the city of Theodoſia, or Caffa, the uſual limit, as ſhewn in the Tour).

XXXVth King. — RHESCUPORIS V.

There are ſeveral coins of this prince. The firſt given by Mr. Cary wants his name, which is effaced on this braſs medal in the Pembroke collection; although, from the date, it muſt either belong to him or his predeceſſor, Sauromates V. which is not ſo probable.

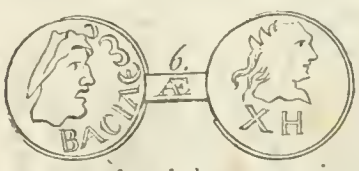


Plate IV. fig. 6.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis V. in all probability, judging from the date.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC . . . . .

Reverſe: A head wearing a radiated crown, with the Greek letters XH below it, 608 of the Boſphoric, or 1065 of the Roman æra, and the ſeventh of Conſtantine.

A ſecond, in the cabinet of Mr. de Liſle.

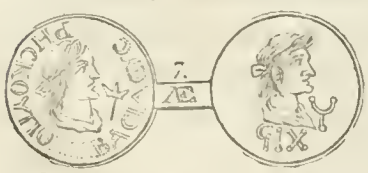


Plate IV. fig. 7.

Obverſe: The head of Rheſcuporis, with a trident before it; and encircled, as uſual, with a fillet, or diadem.

Legend: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΗΣΚΟΥΠΟ . . . .

Reverſe: The head of Conſtantine the great, crowned with laurel; below it the date ΣIX, 616 of the Boſphoric, or 1073 of the Roman æra.

In

In the King of France's cabinet there is another braſs medal, exactly the ſame, except ſome unknown ſymbol before the head of Conſtantine; with the date ΗΙΧ, 618 of the Boſphoric æra, or 1075 of the Roman.

A third, in the ſame cabinet, differs in nothing but the date ΚΧ, 620 of the Boſphoric, or 1077 of the Roman æra.

In the Travels of Mottray we ſee another, with the date ΑΚΧ, 621 of the Boſphoric, or 1078 of the Roman æra.

In the Pembroke collection there is a braſs medal, with the head of Rheſcuporis on one ſide, and Conſtantine on the other; before whom there is an erect figure holding up the right hand; and the date ΒΚΧ, 622 of the Boſphoric æra, or 1079 of the Roman.

Mr. Pellerin has likewiſe a braſs medal, with the heads of the ſame king and Emperor, and the date ΔΚΧ, 624 of the Boſphoric æra, equal to 1081 of the Roman.

And, laſtly, there is mention made of a medal of Rheſcuporis in Mr. Peireſc's manuſcript belonging to Mr. Boze, with the date ΜΧ; which would prove (if correct) that this prince reigned till the 640th year of the Boſphoric æra, or the 1097th of the Roman, the lateſt date that we find on any Boſphoric coin.

XXXVIth and laſt KING of the Boſphorus. — SAUROMATES VI.

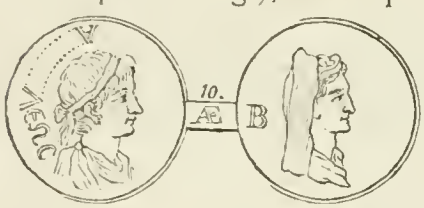
We have no coins of this laſt prince: and all we know of him is, that his imprudence reduced the antient kingdom of Boſphorus to a province of the republic of Cherſon; though, probably, by the help of the Romans, who could not be pleaſed with the independent pretenſions of the later Boſphoric kings, who ſeemed to ſet their power at defiance; and poſſibly might have maintained their independence by their maritime force[217] againſt thoſe haughty

[217] The maritime force of the Boſphorus ſeems to have been the greateſt in the Euxine: and we obſerve the very laſt king of it who ſtruck money carrying on his coin the trident of Neptune, or the emblem of maritime ſuperiority, in the year 620 of the Boſphoric æra, while his lord paramount, Conſtantine the Great, on the reverſe of the ſame medal, is without it; and, indeed, we never hear of a Roman fleet in the Euxine after Hadrian.

conquerors, had they not always had in their neighbourhood a formidable land enemy in the powerful Cherſonites, ever obedient to the nod of Cæſar, when the humiliation or deſtruction of their natural rival was in queſtion; and it was by that republic that they at laſt fell, in the following manner, as related by the Imperial hiſtorian Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.

Sauromates VI. enraged at the diſaſters brought on his predeceſſors by the Cherſonites, refuſed to abide by the limits preſcribed to Sauromates V. and made preparations to retake the part of this antient kingdom which he declared had been unjuſtly wreſted from that king.

For this purpoſe he raiſed an army, and marched againſt the republic; but the Cherſonite chief, named Pharnaces (an ominous and treacherous name to the Boſphoric kings), under pretence of ſaving the effuſion of blood, offered to decide the quarrel by ſingle combat, which the high ſpirit of Sauromatès did not permit him to refuſe; and, as the traitor had ordered that his army ſhould ſet up a loud ſhout the moment the king's back was turned to it, the ſtratagem had the deſired effect of making him turn his head to ſee what was the matter; which gave Pharnaces an opportunity of plunging his ſword into his body, and, by the conditions of this daſtardly duel, reducing the Boſphorus to a province of the republic. Thus ended the third and laſt Dynaſty of the kings of the Boſphorus, with the independence of the country; for an unſucceſsful attempt afterwards made, by one of the name of Aſander, only ended in his own ruin with that of his ſon.



Mr. Cary finiſhes his work by giving three more Boſphoric medals, which he ſtiles *incerta*, not being able to determine by which prince they were ſtruck. One I have already copied, as the head of Sauromates IV. for reaſons then aſſigned: and the other two are given in the margin of this page, in caſe future diſcoveries ſhould throw light on the ſubject.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

OF THE

BOSPHORIC HISTORY:

BY THE EDITOR.

THUS fell the kingdom of Boſphorus, after a lapſe of near eight hundred years, a victim to the Roman maxim, *Divide and govern*; but in this inſtance the Cæſars were the dupes of their own politics, in ſupporting Cherſon againſt a regal ſtate that furniſhed a barrier between the barbarians and the Roman provinces, which were quickly ravaged by the Goths after they got poſſeſſion of the feeble fallen Cimmerian Boſphorus.

Their firſt maritime expedition was directed againſt the neareſt Roman ſettlement of Pytius, which they took and ranſacked, and then ſailed to the rich city of Trapezius, now Trebiſond, which they took by aſſault in the dead of night, notwithſtanding its ſtrong fortifications, and a numerous garriſon of degenerate Romans, who might have held it againſt a whole nation of barbarians, had they not ſlept ſecure in its ſtrength, and fled through the oppoſite gate as ſoon as the Goths made an entrance.

The antient kingdom of Bithynia was their next prey, with its rich capital Nicomédia[218], and the many famous cities mentioned by Pliny, minifter of Trajan, in the Xth Book of his Letters when governor of thofe countries, Nicea, Prufa, Sinope, &c.

In their third expedition, with 500 fail, they paffed through the Thracian Bofphorus; and, after taking in their way the antient city of Cyzicus, fituated on the ifland of that name (where our unfortunate Scythian philofopher Anacharfis learned the Grecian rites, which coft him his life on his return), carried fire and fword into antient Greece, which they entered by fcaling the famous wall, built in better times, clofe by the Athenian port of Pire, and which formerly, when kept in repair, ferved as a bulwark, not only to the Attic capital, but to the whole republic, againft maritime attacks; yet in its neglected ftate proved a feeble obftacle to the furious Goths, who ravaged the claffic peninfula, and would probably have made even Italy tremble, if the infamous Emperor Gallienus had not been roufed from his ignoble floth by their fuccefs, and flown to its relief with the flower of the Roman legions, which obliged them to return home, ravaging the coaft of Troy in their retrograde voyage, though their force in fetting out was at moft only 15,000[219].

[218] Nicomédia became afterwards the refidence of Diocleffan and fome of his fucceffors, an again fprung up from its gothic afhes to a great and opulent city.

[219] The *Camaræ*, or Euxine veffels, mentioned by Strabo and Tacitus, were open barks built without iron (as the Ruffians are to this day), which had only an occafional floping cover (rather than a deck) put up in bad weather by the failors; and carried 25 or 30 foldiers at moft; nay this was ftill the cafe even in the middle ages, when the Ruffians fitted out fuch large fleets from the Dnieper againft Conftantinople, where 2,000 fail is talked of; but they were only *Lotkies* (in the language of Ruffia), or *Monoxyles* (as Conft. Porphyrogenitus called them), made out of *one tree*, with fhelving planks fixed to their gunnel, which at moft fitted them to contain 25 or 30 men. But we afterwards hear of the Goths and their allies embarking 320,000 men in 2,000 veffels (according to Trebellius Pollion in his Life of Auguftus) from the Dnieffer, againft the Roman empire; and in 6,000 barks according to Zonaras, whom Monteſquieu follows, the fame army, defeated by the Emperor Claudius, 320,000 ftrong at the battle of Naiffus, A. D. 269, which gained him the cognomen of Gothicus. If the Emperor was exact in the number of 320,000 mentioned in his letter to the Senate, ftill in exiftence, then Monteſquieu was right in prefering the 6,000 barks of Zonaras to the 2,000 of Pollion, which could have held but a part of fuch an army.

Such

Such was the ſuperiority of bold vigorous barbarians over effeminate poliſhed men, till the diſcovery of gunpowder levelled human ſtrength.

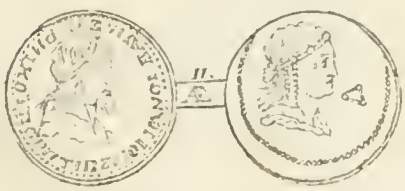
In agreeing with Mr. Gibbon, that the fall of the kingdom of Boſphorus was one of the many cauſes which contributed to the fall of the Roman empire, I muſt take the liberty of correcting a little inaccuracy of that celebrated and elegant hiſtorian, when he ſpeaks of the Goths being maſters of the Boſphorus, and employing its fleet againſt the Roman ſettlements, *in or before the reign of Gallienus*, who, he informs us, drove them from Greece in their *third* expedition, fitted out from the Taurida, as the two former were *from the Boſphorus*. Now this muſt be a miſtake; as I ſhall at the end of this article give a ſeries of Boſphoric kings of the ſame Dynaſty down to Conſtantine the great, bearing the heads of the Roman Emperors in ſucceſſion on the reverſe of their coins, as lords paramount of the kingdom. Rheſcuporis IV. king of Boſphorus, was cotemporary with Gallienus, whoſe head is on the reverſe of his coin, joined with his colleague Odenathus of Palmyra on one; but he is alone on another, ſtruck in the 1097th year of Rome, and the 640th of the Boſphoric æra, or 77 years after the date of the laſt of the Boſphoric medals of Gallienus, who was killed in the 268th year of the chriſtian æra. Mr. Gibbon then, in the multiplicity of materials which he had to collect for his learned hiſtory, muſt have made a miſtake in the epoch when the Goths took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Boſphorus, and made uſe of its fleet to attack the Roman empire. When they did conquer it I have not aſcertained; but it is very probable, that it may have been ſoon after it became ſubject to the Cherſoneſe republic, which ſeems to have happened in the reign of Conſtantine the great, or about that period.

The Goths, however, ſeem to have been in poſſeſſion of at leaſt a part of the Taurida ſo early as the reign of Gallienus, and their attack on Pytius, Trebiſond, &c.; and I have little doubt that all the three expeditions were fitted out from the ports in the centre of the peninſula; although the two extremities, containing the republic of Cherſon on the Weſt ſide, and the kingdom of Boſphorus on the Eaſt, were ſtill both in poſſeſſion of the antient proprietors till long after the four maritime expeditions of the Goths from the Euxine; the laſt of which, as ſaid in my note, was in the time of Claudius, long before the fall of the Boſphorus; ſo that, it ſeems, the authentic Annals of that antient kingdom, drawn from its Medallic hiſtory, were not known to our learned countryman at the

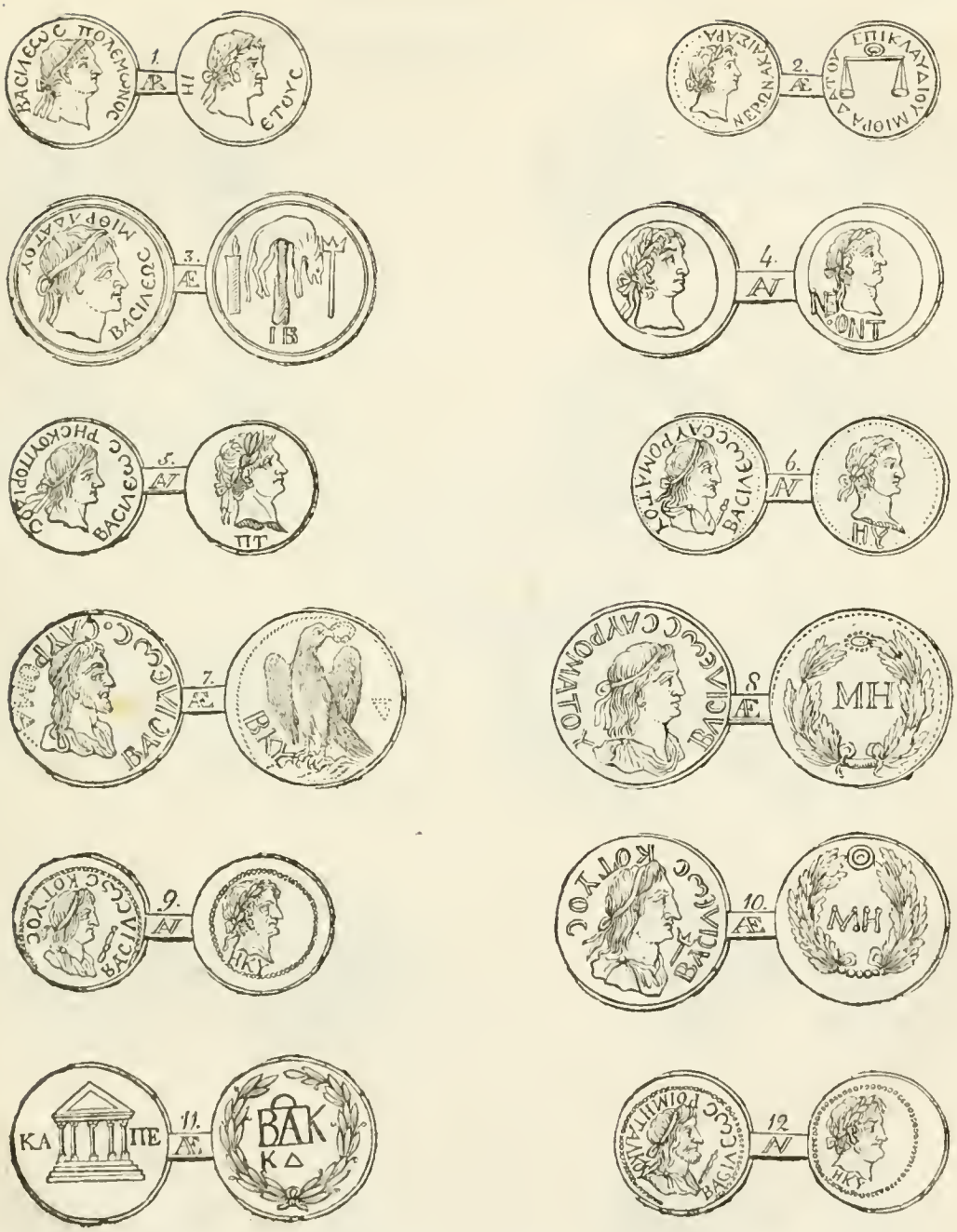
the time when he wrote the article which I have taken the liberty to correct, having made thoſe countries my particular ſtudy for many years; a thing ſcarcely poſſible for that excellent hiſtorian to have done amid the multifarious objects of his attention.

[Here follow a ſeries of Coins of the Boſphoric Kings, and other antient Medals introduced in the preceding pages.]

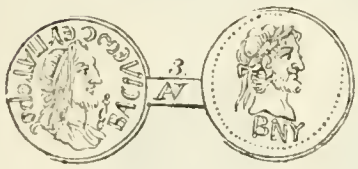
KINGS OF BOSPHORUS. PLATE I.

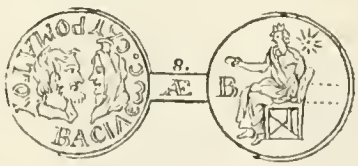


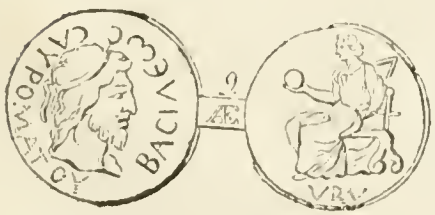
KINGS OF BOSPHORUS. PLATE II.

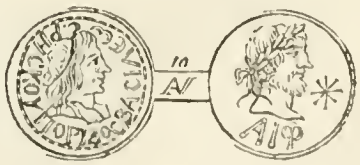


KINGS OF BOSPHORUS. PLATE III.



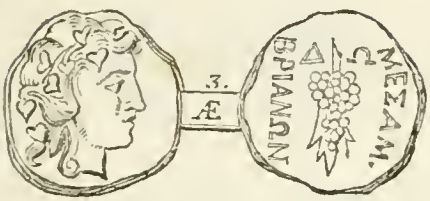


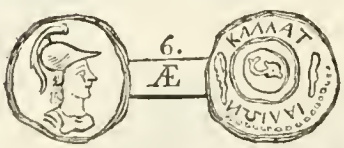


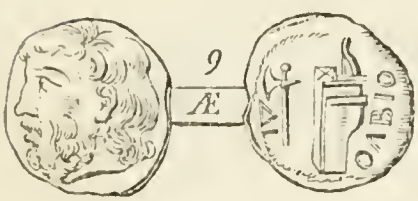


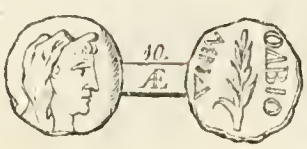
KINGS OF BOSPHORUS. PLATE IV.

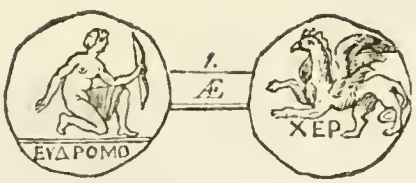
ANTIENT MEDALS. PLATE V.







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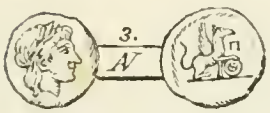
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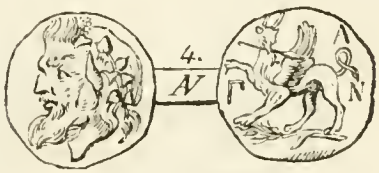
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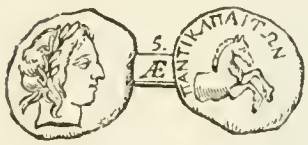
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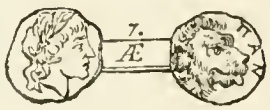
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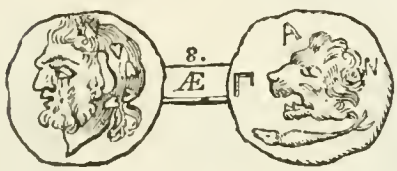
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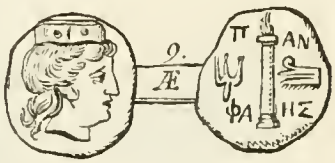
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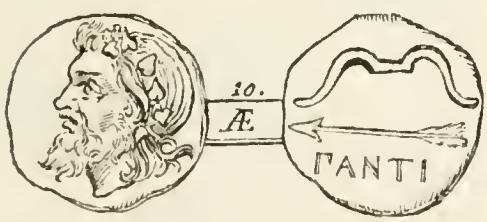
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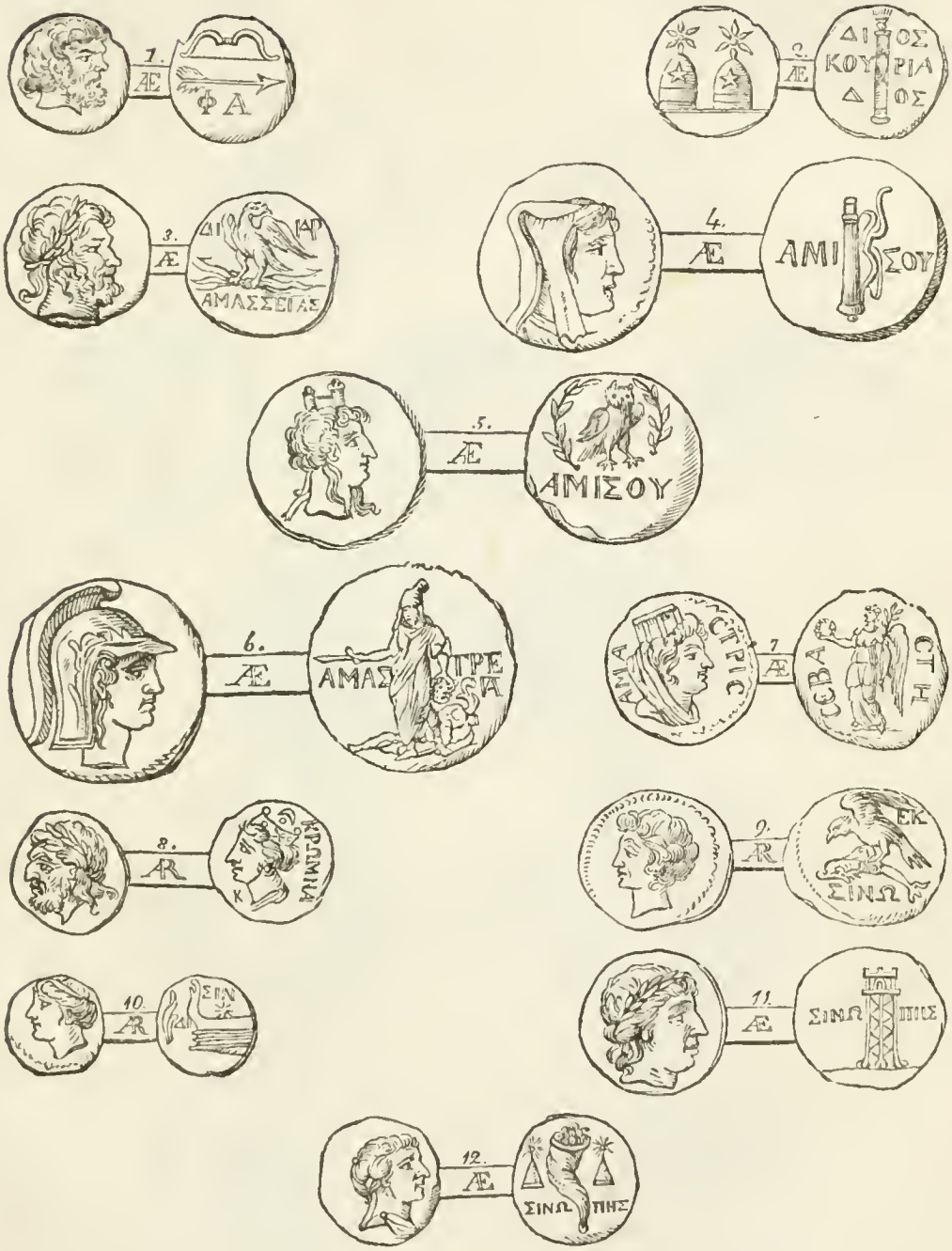
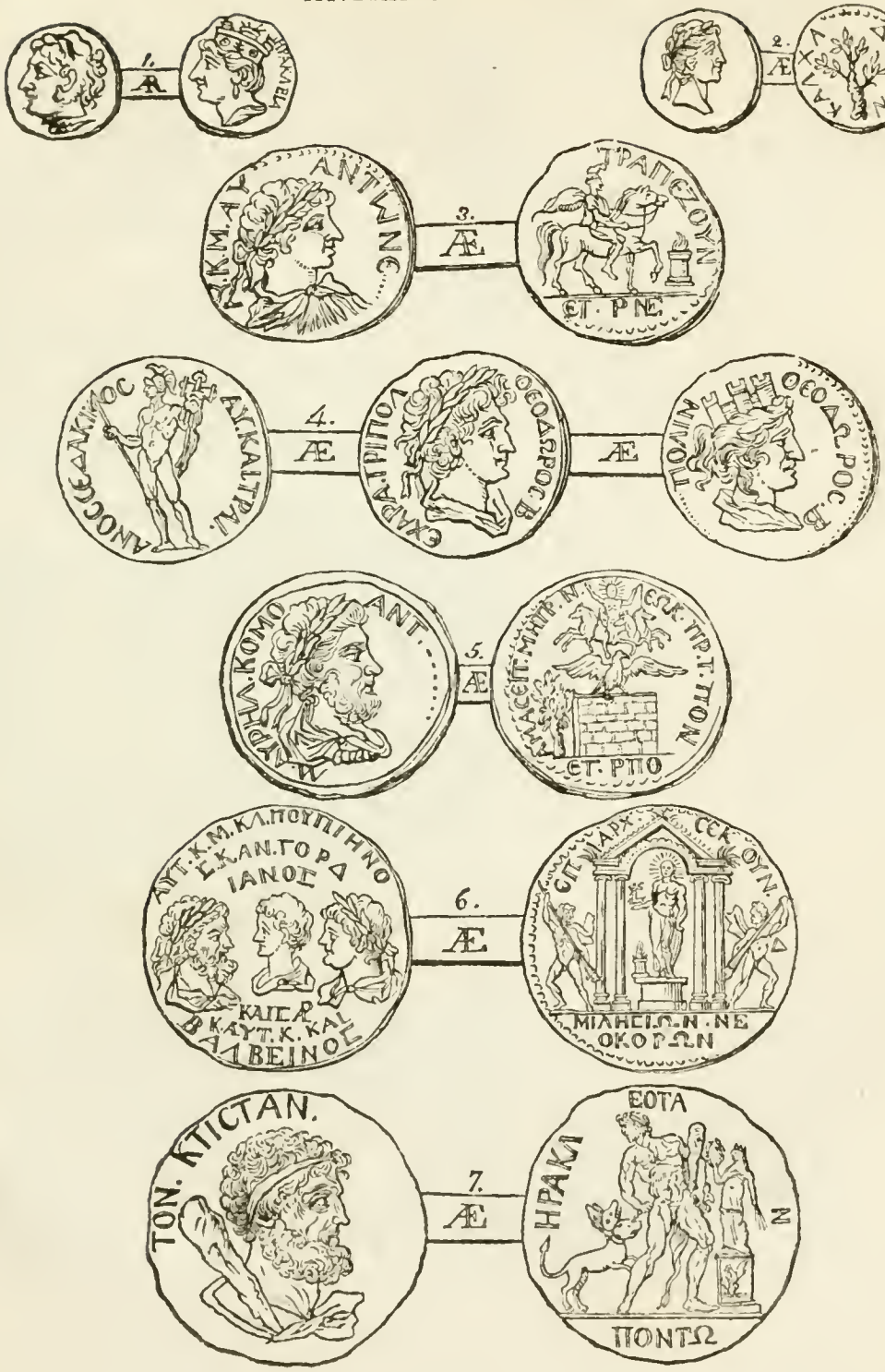
ANTIENT MEDALS. PLATE VII.



ANTIENT MEDALS. PLATE VIII.



CATALOGUE of the COINS of the Bosphoric KINGS, with the Names of the Roman CÆSARS on the Reverse; the Length of each Reign; the Date of the Bosphoric Æra marked on them, compared with the Roman; and, lastly, the Number given here from the Cabinets of Europe, as coined by each Prince.

	Length of Years that they Reigned.	Bosphoric Æra.	Roman Æra.	Numb. of Coins of each King given here.	Names of the Roman Emperors their Lords Paramount, appearing on the Reverse of the Bosphoric Coins in general.
The First Dynasty were, the Archæanactides, about 487 years before Christ, and the 267th year of Rome.					
The Second Dynasty began with					
1. Spartacus I. { Of these six Kings no Coins have as	7		309		
2. Seleucus	4				
3. Spartacus II. } yet been found, nor of two or three	20				
4. Satyrus } more, though their names are men-	14				
5. Leucon } tioned in this Catalogue to give a com-	40				
6. Spartacus III. { plete view of the whole series of Bos-	5				
Letter L. { phoric Princes known to history, as					
7. Pærisades I. is the first Prince whose Coins are known { will be seen by a blank left in the	38			1	
8. Emulus . . . . . { column of medals.	5				
N. B. His two brothers (Satyrus II. and Prytanis) both mounted the throne for a short time before him: although Mr. Cary has only registered the successful usurper, who conquered his brothers.					
9. Spartacus IV. who died 289 years before Christ	20		465		
A blank in the Bosphoric history of 170 years.					
10. Pærisades II. dethroned by Mithridates					
The Third Dynasty began with					
Letter LI.					
11. Mithridates the Great, surnamed Eupator, who mounted the throne 115 years before Christ. . . .	50		639	1	
N. B. All the rest of the Bosphoric Kings are in the Supplement to the history of that kingdom.					
12. Pharnaces, his traitorous son, 63 years before Christ	14		691	1	Cons. Pompey.
13. Asander, 48 before Christ	33		706	2	Augustus.
14. Scribonius, 14 before Christ; about	2		740		Augustus.
15. Polemon, 12 before Christ; about	5		742	1	Augustus.
16. Sauromates I. about	6	326	782	3	Augustus and Tiberius.
17. Rhescuporis I.	5	331	787	3	Tiberius and Caligula.
18. Polemon II. A. D. 38	4		791	1	Caligula and Claudius.
19. Mithridates II. A. D. 42	7		795	2	Claudius.

CATALOGUE of the COINS of the Bosphoric KINGS, with the Names of the Roman CÆSARS on the Reverſe; the Length of each Reign; the Date of the Bosphoric Æra marked on them, compared with the Roman; and, laſtly, the Number given here from the Cabinets of Europe, as coined by each Prince.

	Length of Years that they Reigned.	Bosphoric Æra.	Roman Æra.	Numb. of Coins of each King given here.	Names of the Roman Emperors their Lords Paramount, appearing on the Reverſe of the Bosphoric Coins in general.
20. Cotys I. A. D. 49	34	359	802	1	Nero and Agrippina, his mother.
21. Rheſcuporis II. A. D. 83	42	380	836	1	Domitian.
22. Sauromates II.	18	422	878		
		404	861	3	Trajan and Hadrian.
23. Cotys II.	2	426	883		
		428	885	3	Hadrian.
24. Rhœmetalces, A. D. 132	17	428	885		
		445	902	3	Hadrian and Anto. Pius.
25. Eupator	15	452	909		
		467	924	2	Anton. Pius, M. Aurelius, and Lucius Verus.
26. Sauromates III. This Prince probably had a colleague; as, a king named Pepæpiræus appears on the Reverſe of one of his Coins.	24	477	934		
		501	958	5	Commodus, Sept. Severus, and Caracalla.
27. Rheſcuporis III.	10	511	968		
		521	978	1	Caracalla and Alexander Severus.
28. Cotys III.	1	529	986		
		530	987	1	Alexander Severus.
29. Ininthimevus, not quite	1	531	988	1	Alexander Severus.
30. Rheſcuporis IV.	32	531	988		
		563	1020	1	Alex. Severus and Gordian. Pius, Philippus, Decius, Gallus, Hoſtil. Gallienus, and Odenathus.
31. Teiranes, apparently about	20	573	1030	1	Probus.
32. Thothorſes	6	593	1050		
		599	1056	1	Diocleſian.
33. Sauromates IV.		600	1057	1	Diocleſian.
34. Sauromates V. about A. D. 310	8	608	1065		Conſtantine the Great.
35. Rheſcuporis V.	32	640	1097	2	Conſtantine the Great.
36. Sauromates VI. the laſt King; probably about		645	1102		In this year the kingdom fell, and became a province of Cherſon.

N. B. The Bosphoric Æra and that of the Kingdom of Pontus were the ſame; as the firſt followed the computation of the laſt on all its Coins.

CATALOGUE

Of the ANTIENT MEDALS inſerted in MRS. GUTHRIE'S TOUR to the EUXINE; with References to the Letters wherein they are employed to illuſtrate the Text.

REGAL COINS.

The ſeries of Coins ſtruck by the Kings of Boſphorus, ſurprizingly complete for a country ſo little known, being 44 in number, have been given in our preceding pages; ſo that we have only to mark here the poſition of the firſt two, viz. that of

Pærisades I. in Letter L. where the Boſphoric hiſtory begins; and the great

Mithridates Eupator, in Letter LII.; all the others, as ſaid above, being given together in the PLATES.

One more Regal Medal is given in Letter VII. Cotys V. king of Thrace, the friend of Ovid in his exile.

AUTONOMATIC COINS OF FREE GREEK CITIES.

Letter

LVII. Phanagoria, the capital of the iſland of the ſame name. Plate VII. fig. 1.

LXXVI. Miletus, in Caria.

Ibid. Its Temple of Apollo Didymenos. Plate VIII. fig. 6.

Letter

LXXVII. Tomb at the mouth of the Danube, Ovid's priſon.
Ibid. Iſtripolis, in the ſame country.
Ibid. Meſembria.
Ibid. Apollonias.
Ibid. Kallata.
Ibid. Byzantium.
LXXXV. Sinope, three coins.
LXXXVIII. Dioſcurios, or Sebaſtapolis, the famous Colchis mart.
LXXXIX. Panticapeos, the capital of the Boſphorus, eleven coins while a free city, before its erection into a kingdom.
Ibid. Cherſon, the capital of the famous Tauric republic, two coins.
XC. Olbio, or Olbiopolis, the great Scythio-Grecian mart on the Dnieper, or Boryſthenes, three coins from Pellerin, and two from the cabinet of Baron Aſh, here.
XCI. Chalcedonia.
Ibid. Heraclea, in Pontus, two coins.
Ibid. A fourth coin of Sinope.
Ibid. Cromna.
Ibid. Amaſtris, two coins.
Ibid. Amiſus, two coins.
Ibid. Amaſia.

IMPERIAL COINS.

XCII. Trapezus, afterwards Trebiſond.
Ibid. Tripolis, in Pontus, a medal of Trajan, ſtruck there after the Roman conqueſt.
Ibid. Amaſia, a medal of Commodus.

REFERENCE

REFERENCE

Of the Bosphoric Medals to the Plates in the Margin of this TOUR.

Plate I.

Fig.

1. Pærisades I.
2. Mithridates Eupator.
3. Pharnaces.
4. Asander, as Archontos.
5. Asander, as King.
6. Polemon I.
7. 8. 9. } Sauromates I.
10. 11. 12. } Rhescuporis I.

Plate II.

1. Polemon II.
2. 3. } Mithridates II.
4. Cotys I. of Bosphorus.
5. Rhescuporis II.
6. 7. 8. } Sauromates II.
9. 10. 11. } Cotys II.
12. Rhœmetalces.

Plate III.

Fig.

1. 2. } Rhœmetalces (the laſt three coins of the ſame prince).

3. 4. } Eupator.

5. 6. 7. 8. 9. } Sauromates III.

10. Rheſcuporis III.

Plate IV.

1. Cotys III.
2. Ininthimevus.
3. Rheſcuporis IV.
4. Teiranes.
5. Thothorſes.
6. 7. } Rheſcuporis V.
8. Sauromates VI.
9. 10. } Incerta.
11. Cotys V. king of Thrace, and the friend of Ovid in his exile.

N° III.

REMARKS

On some Scythian and Bosphoric Antiques discovered in the Empire of Russia.

THE rude groteſque figures ſent down hither ſome years ago by Prince Potemkin, and which I have lately found ſtanding in an open court-yard, neglected and forgotten ſince the death of that General (who alone among the Great ſeemed to take an intereſt in the antient hiſtory of the provinces conquered from the Turks on the Euxine), have attracted my attention, as well as the antique marble column diſcovered by the Field-Marſhal Count Suworoff, in the Cuban; as they all appear curious monuments of remote, though not claſſic antiquity, unleſs the Marſhal's pillar ſhould turn out to be (what I ſhall prove poſſible, and that is all) a famous antique monument once erected in the very country where this was found; for, in that caſe, it muſt commemorate an event celebrated by the eloquence of Demoſthenes; though, in all probability, the record was made in a language now loſt, as I ſhall ſhow when we come to examine the Cuban column, after ſpeaking of the rough Scythian ſtatues ſent down by the Prince.

STATUES.

STATUES.

The Scythian or Tartar Statues are four in number (two more are ſince added), rudely chiſſeled out of as many blocks of a very coarſe-grained ſand-ſtone, and of more than gothic workmanſhip. A conſiderable portion of each block is left in its natural ſtate below the ſculptured figure, in order to be ſunk in the ground and ſupport the figure in an upright poſition, like the Roman Termini and Priapi; and it is thus that they are frequently ſeen in the deſerts of Scythia, more eſpecially on the Kourgans, or conic tumuli, ſcattered over it, exactly reſembling thoſe mentioned by all travellers who have viſited the renowned plain of Troy; which ſhows this ſpecies of primitive tombs to be of high antiquity, although the Scythians ſeem to be the only people who have decorated them with the rude ſtatues of their anceſtors or heroes. I muſt, however, acknowledge, that this deciſion is ſcarcely founded, as certainly ſuch objects of reſpect to a particular race of men may be preſerved for many ages in deſerts only frequented by the ſame hordes (for I look upon the Scythians and Tartars as only different names for the ſame people), while in populous countries; which have frequently changed maſters, very little reſpect would be paid to ſuch barbarous repreſentations of the human form, had they even originally crowned the Trojan tumuli, which the learned preſident of the Antiquarian Society, Mr. Bryant, thinks were erected by the Thracians, long before the ſubject of Homer's Song, or even the foundation of haughty Ilium.

That all the four have been intended to repreſent females, is evident from their head-dreſſes, necklaces, and breaſts, however badly they are otherways executed, and damaged by time and the looſe texture of the ſtone.

PLATE II. fig. 1 — Repreſents a naked female figure ſitting on a ſtone; while the three others are clad in a ſhort garb reaching only a little below the knee, like the dreſs that we ſtill ſee worn by ſome Finniſh women over a petticoat, which a cold climate ſeems to have added to the antient habiliment in this latitude. She has a monſtrous projecting face without any head-dreſs; but, to make amends for that deficiency, both her neck and naked thighs are fully ornamented,

Fig 1 page 406

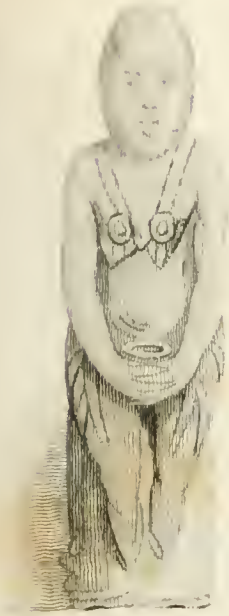


Fig 2. page 407

Fig 3. page 407

Fig 7 page 413

Fig 4 page 407

Fig 5 page 408

Fig 6. page 408

ornamented, the firſt with a croſs chain, which ſuſpends a round metal plate on each breaſt, like what we ſee ſome Finniſh women wear to this day in the ſame manner; and the thighs are covered with croſſed ribbons, or ſtraps, from the hip to the knee.

Her hair hangs down her back in one treſs, which marks the unmarried ſtate in Ruſſia, as formerly in Rome (together with the ſingle vittæ of the Antients, of narrow riband, round her head); and, laſtly, ſhe holds in a moſt awkward manner, with both hands, a ſpecies of cup below her belly, ſomewhat in the ſhape of a flattened dice-box.

This is the only Scythian Statue that I have ſeen where no part of the block is left to enter the ground and keep it firm and erect; indeed, the bottom is made large and flat on purpoſe to ſtand above the ſurface, inſtead of being buried in the earth, like the others, to the depth of ſome feet.

Fig. 2—Wears a kind of high bonnet, like what the Ruſſian women call a kakoſhnick; having her hair done up in a roll, and placed in a circle round her face, between it and the bonnet, from which a veil hangs down her back, divided into three lappels, juſt as we ſee the Ruſſian married women ſtill dreſſed in ſome provinces of this vaſt empire. On her neck ſhe has a double row of beads, or ſomething of that kind, and in her hands the uſual cup held under her belly.

Fig. 3—Wears a head-dreſs ſomething lower than Fig. 2, with a veil falling from it on her ſhoulders; and a necklace, evidently meant to repreſent precious ſtones, cut into a lozenge-form in the Oriental manner; below this ſingle row hang two others, poſſibly meant for gold chains (if the bead form is not effaced by time); while her back is ornamented with ſtraps, or ribands, croſſing each other at right angles. The cup is held in the uſual manner.

Fig. 4—Is repreſented in a kind of low round hat, or bonnet, and a veil, with two rows of chain or beads about the neck; and breaſts evidently intended for thoſe of a woman. This figure and all the others have ſmall miſhapen legs, without any veſtige of feet, poſſibly broken off in a lapſe of ages

Modern tradition ſays, that the cup held with the two hands by each of theſe Statues[220] was intended for receiving alms from the paſſing Nomade; and that

[220] Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks of theſe very ſame Statues in the fifth century; which, he ſays, are true repreſentations of the *Hunniſh face*; and, as he wrote much about the time of the ravages

that both in antient Scythia, and the more modern pagan Tartary, the ſacerdotal order had no other revenue than the voluntary offerings of their pious countrymen; there is, however, one circumſtance that makes me doubt whether they could be intended for begging-boxes; which is, that only one of the four is fitted to receive any thing; for the other three, inſtead of being hollow, are ſolid maſſes of ſtone, in a veſſel or cup form.

In ſhort, the whole ſubject ſeems wrapped in the darkneſs of remote antiquity; ſo that I regard myſelf as rather a bold man, to have hazarded the few conjectures above thrown out; and ſhall venture no more, till ſome farther light is thrown on the ſubject by new diſcoveries; in the mean time, ſhould any thing ſaid here be applicable to your antique groteſque ſtatues ſtanding on the banks of the Donetz[221], which I ſuſpect to be the work of the ſame rude

ravages of thoſe barbarians in Europe under Attila in 447, their marked features muſt have been well known to him.

The Engliſh Monk Rubruquis likewiſe mentions them during his holy miſſion in Tartary, about the year 1253; and particularly notices the little veſſels held by each figure in both hands cloſe to the belly.

[221] Theſe remarks were originally ſent to Sir Charles Gaſcoigne, then at his cannon foundery of Lugan, on the Donetz: and on his return to Petertburg he brought with him two drawings of the rude Scythian Statues found in that quarter, which appear to be naked female figures, exactly reſembling thoſe already deſcribed [See fig. 5 and 6]; but the information received from Mr. Gaſcoigne relative to where they are found is intereſting.

They are always found placed on the top of the Kourgans, or conic tumuli, which are ſcattered over the Stepts, or graſſy plains, in ſuch a manner that my friend Mr. G. is of opinion, that they muſt have ſerved the double purpoſe of ſepulchres, and videttes, or watch towers, to the Scythian Nomades who fed their flocks in thoſe plains, to guard them againſt any ſudden attack from their hoſtile brethren, who, being always mounted, make an irruption into a country with the ſwiftneſs and deſtruction of a torrent. Theſe conic hillocks are, therefore, always placed at ſuch diſtances, and in ſuch ſituations, that an enemy muſt be inſtantly ſeen from them, even in the occaſional hollows which ſometimes occur in the Stepts; for Sir Charles particularly remarked, that the Kourgans always command them; and he perceived in one Kourgan which he examined a ſubterraneous chamber, which he ſuſpected might have ſerved as a ſtable to conceal the horſes of the centinels placed there; with, poſſibly, the man off guard, who might ſleep while the other watched. Mr. Gaſcoigne, however, is by no means ſure that a ſimilar ſubterraneous apartment, or cellar, belongs to every Kourgan; for he only ſpeaks of the one that he examined with attention, and candidly owns, that the excavation might have been made by people ſearching for treaſure; as a popular belief exiſts in that country, that the Scythians buried their riches with their bodies, which ſeems to have been true in ſome degree, as will have appeared in the Tour.

paſtoral

An exact Copy of the Inscription on the Back of this Figure.

Fig. 1 page 427

Fig. 2 page 419

Fig. 3 page 422

Engraved by W. Cooke

paſtoral chiſſel;—I ſay, ſhould the deſcription of theſe four barbarous figures coincide in any degree with thoſe of Lugan, the intention in ſending you my hazarded conjectures will be fully anſwered.

A ſerious inquiry into the origin of thoſe antient Statues, or what nation they repreſent, ſeems worthy the attention of the antiquary, even if not treating particularly on the Euxine provinces; as we know from the Byzantine writers, as well as from the evidence of Ammianus Marcellinus, quoted before in a note, that they exactly repreſent the marked countenance of the Huns, whoſe bloody ravages and devaſtation in the 5th century had ſo great a ſhare in weakening the Weſtern Roman empire; which ended in leſs than 40 years after the viſitation of Attila, *the ſcourge of God*, as he was emphatically called.

Theſe Statues then, rude as they are, repreſent to the conviction of Pallas, and of every other intelligent traveller, the Mongul nation, the conquerors of China, India, Ruſſia, &c. in different ages; of which the Huns appear evidently to have been a horde inhabiting theſe deſerts on the Mæotis and Euxine at the time of their eruption into Europe; a fact which ſeems confirmed by a tradition ſubſiſting among their deſcendants, the Calmouks, ſtill dwelling in the ſame graſſy plains; who ſay, that a tribe of their anceſtors called in their language the *Olot* horde (this, by the by, is the generic name of the whole Mongul nation), emigrated antiently to the Weſtern countries, and were probably the *Huns* of the Roman authors, notwithſtanding the difference of name, which proves nothing, as the civilized nations of antiquity, like the French till very lately, never condeſcended to conſult barbarians with regard to their real appellation, which they often could not eaſily pronounce, but gave them a new name, frequently a contemptuous one taken from ſomething remarkable in their figure, manners, dreſs, arms, or actions.

They have all the broad, flat, Calmouk, or Mongul face, and even ſome part of the dreſs ſtill worn by that nation; although, in the number of ages ſince their creation (for we know they have ſtood at leaſt 1300 years, and God knows how much longer), it is natural to ſuppoſe that ſome parts have been changed, more particularly that of the female; and even ſome modification of the male garb may have taken place to ſuit different climates and modes of warfare. For example, the ſmall conic cap, or bonnet, ſtuck on the crown of the head of the Statues (ſee the figures of them given by Pallas) is ſtill exactly the characteriſtic cap of the whole Mongul nation in all its ſubdiviſions,

though the ſhort caftan, or coat, and the croſs-belt, is no longer worn by them.

As to the female figures, the exact reſemblance of the features ſhow little admixture of foreign blood; while the treſſed hair and coral necklace is ſtill all their own; but the cap, as might be expected in ſuch a lapſe of time, is not that now worn by the Mongul women, or any other in the North of Aſia.

I ſhall farther remark, that thoſe Statues are ſeen at unequal diſtances and of unequal ſculpture, from the Dnieper to the rivers Ural and Irtiſh, and even as far as the banks of the Jeneſſey[222]; but they gradually ſhow a ruder workmanſhip Eaſtward from the Don; as if the richer and more civilized hordes had conſtantly choſen the neighbourhood of the three ſeas, the Euxine, Mæotis, and Caſpian, where the paſture is richer, and where they could always procure a number of deſirable articles[223] from the traders on its ſhores, in exchange for the ſuperfluous product of their herds and flocks; and, as if the poorer and more barbarous tribes had been obliged to ſeek a more ſcanty ſubſiſtence towards Siberia, in a colder climate, and in a more nomade ſtate; for the paucity of the tombs and ſtatues in thoſe more Eaſtern regions ſhow that they made no very long abode on one ſpot; while the barbarous figures, ſcarcely human, carved on ſhapeleſs trunks without either garb or extremities, demonſtrate, that the paſtoral chiſel was ſtill leſs expert there than in the deſerts of Scythia; which, by the wideſt latitude of Greece and Rome, did not extend beyond the Caſpian. But there are other proofs of the permanent abode of a rich and powerful nation in the Kaptchat, as Rubruquis with propriety calls the country between the Volga and Ural (the real Tartar name of it); for in this diſtrict we find many ruins of buildings, which Pallas thinks all ſepulchral or religious; though the tradition of the wandering hordes deſcended from the ſame people points them out as remains of the ſovereign reſidence of the Mongul Chans, or princes, in the days of their power and ſplendour. Not to mention ſmaller maſſes of ruins, thoſe on the Achtuba, which falls into the Caſpian at Aſtracan,

[222] There are other proofs beſide theſe Statues in the conic form of the tombs or tumuli of Siberia, alſo called Kourgans; and the arched lower part, which covers the corpſes, arms, &c. &c. are all the ſame.

[223] Such as cloth, ſilk, female ornaments, kitchen utenſils, &c. and perhaps a ſupply of fiſh for the opulent, to change the monotony of their food from the ſurrounding ſeas and rivers.

are

are very conſiderable, and ſtill more ſo thoſe at Madſhary on the river Kuma; which conſiſted of 32 buildings as late as the year 1780, though now reduced to four, of which Pallas has given drawings in 1793; and, laſtly, ſeven more near the Terek, likewiſe ſketched by his draughtſman, all of Tartar origin, as is evident from ſeveral kinds of proof, viz. ſhape, conſtruction, and inſcriptions; thoſe on the Achtuba, however, are the ruins which bore the ſtrongeſt marks of civilized riches (viz. vaſes, arms, jewels, and horſe-furniture of gold and ſilver) when the tombs were firſt opened; moſt of which were concealed by the finders; but a part is ſtill to be ſeen in the Imperial muſeum. I am of Pallas's opinion with regard to the ſepulchral or religious deſtination of all thoſe ruins, from the known attachment of the Monguls to a camp reſidence, which to this day prevents their deſcendants, the Calmuc princes, from inhabiting a palace built for them by the crown of Ruſſia, though placed in their favourite haunts.

The laſt obſervation which I ſhall make on thoſe Scythian remains of antiquity is, that *the anceſtors of the Ruſſians ſeem to have inhabited the deſerts where they ſtand in the 13th century*; for Rubruquis found the Koumans there; and we have a proof that the Koumans and Ruſſians were the ſame people, in the famous paſſage already quoted in the Tour from the Maccarean regiſter; a fact that I have proved in my "Ruſſian Antiquities," though I had no date to aſcertain the exact period when they did ſo. The name of Koumans is evidently derived from their reſidence on the river Kuma.

Finally, we muſt be convinced that the army of Gingis Chan, a part of which, under his nephew, Baaty Khan, ſettled in the Kaptchat after ſubduing Ruſſia (the famous Golden horde ſo well known in the hiſtory of this empire), was only a ſecond invaſion of the Monguls at the end of the 13th century, many ages after their anceſtors had already penetrated to and ſettled in the ſame Weſtern deſerts, as the numerous ſtatues bearing their national face and dreſs can teſtify; although, poſſibly, the Tartar conqueror was ignorant of the fact[224], and never ſuſpected that he was only taking poſſeſſion of the lands of his anceſtors in re-conquering the Kaptchat.

But

[224] "We have a confirmation of this hiſtorical fact from the Olots, or Kalmuks themſelves; "who affirm, that long before Tſchinghis Khan, the greateſt and mightieſt part of their nation "made a military expedition Weſtward, as far as Aſia Minor; and the remaining flock (which "then obtained the name of Khalimak, or the Separated) loſt ſight of their brethren amongſt the

But neither the proofs of the antiquity or riches of the Scythians, or Tartars, (by whichever of the two names we may be diſpoſed to call the antient inhabitants of theſe deſerts) are confined to the Kaptchat; for the ruins of a number of cities deſcribed by Mr. Rychkof, in his Topography of the Government of Orenburg (1762), all evidently belonged to the ſame people, as well as the many antique tombs containing rich arms, &c. on the Tobol and Irtiſh, as far down as the Obe; nay even thoſe beyond the lake Baikal equally belonged to the ſame race of men at a ſtill more remote period than the conqueſt of India or China; for they certainly were conſtructed before they poſſeſſed iron; all the arms, knives, utenſils, &c. found in them being of copper, as the points of the Scythian arrows were in the time of Herodotus, who ſpeaks of an immenſe copper veſſel made of them on an occaſion mentioned in this Tour, when each man was ordered to furniſh one. We know that the Antients poſſeſſed an art of hardening braſs ſo as to form inſtruments for war, and even of ſculpture in ſtone, now entirely loſt.

A curious ſpecies of ſilver coin ſometimes accompanies the copper accoutrements in the antique Siberian tombs, bearing a *full-blown roſe* without any inſcription; an indication which may poſſibly throw ſome light on the period, if not on the people, if it attracts the attention of the learned ſociety in Bengal, to whom we owe ſuch a large portion of deep Aſiatic reſearch in ſo ſhort a time; for it is more than probable, that the coin in queſtion was from ſome Aſiatic mint.

" mountains of Caucaſus; now it was but natural for them to deſcend into the Stepts of the " Kaptchak, the ſpecies of country in which all paſtoral tribes delight, and to which they had " been ever accuſtomed; for we find all the tribes of Tartars chuſe graſſy plains as an abode for " themſelves and their flocks.

Notwithſtanding all the trouble taken by Profeſſor Georgi, Mr. Tooke, &c. to diſtinguiſh the Monguls, &c. from the Tartars, there is ſo much ſimilitude in almoſt every thing among all the hordes of paſtoral Nomades wandering with their flocks in the Stepts of Aſia and Europe, that a generic name for the whole will always be employed by every one who is not minutely treating of their ſubdiviſions, let profeſſed hiſtorians do what they pleaſe to prevent it; and, as the general appellation of Scythians in antient times, and Tartars in modern, applied to the whole tribes of thoſe wanderers, are univerſally known and received in all the languages of civilized nations, we ſhall ſtill continue to uſe them, to ſave trouble, and avoid explanations that are tireſome to readers when they do not ſit down with the expreſs purpoſe of ſuch inveſtigations; for which a Lady's Tour is certainly a very improper place; though we are by no means ignorant of what has been ſaid on the ſubject.

As

As to the antique marble column (PLATE II. fig. 7.) that was found by the Field Marſhal Suworof, buried in the earth on the banks of the Cuban (the Verdanus, or Antacætes, of the Antients), near ſome antient military works of earth, which are Roman by the tradition of the country;—it is nine Engliſh feet high, and four in circumference, and is covered with inſcriptions in ſome language unknown to all our interpreters of the college of foreign affairs, though they are acquainted with the Tartar, Perſian, Arabic, Turkiſh, and Chineſe.

Conjecture here has a fine field to roam in; and, as it is free to all, I ſhall hazard one by way of ſetting the ſubject afloat.

Strabo informs us, that Leucon II. ſeventh king of the Boſphorus, during a great ſcarcity in Greece, ſent to his friends the Athenians one hundred thouſand Grecian medimi of corn (330 millions of pounds weight), from his city of Theodocia (afterwards Caffa), where he then reſided; and the grateful republicans rewarded him by electing him a citizen of Athens, then held in high eſteem by foreign princes, whom the Greeks arrogantly ſtiled barbarians and tyrants; although the reaſon of their deſiring that honour was, to gain a protection from the uſurpation and tyranny of the Greek republics, who made conſtant war upon one or other of them, if for no other object than to procure helots or ſlaves; for they permitted no freedom but their own. This event was commemorated by three columns; one of which was ſet up in Athens, one in the capital of the Boſphorus (Panticapeos, or Boſphorus, now Kerch), and a third near the Temple of the Argonauts, which muſt have ſtood ſomewhere in the Cuban, on the road between the two antient kingdoms of Boſphorus and Colchis; or in the very diſtrict where Count Suworof foundthis antique marble column.

As to the language in which the inſcription was written, I think it muſt have been barbarous, and likely to be now unknown, for the following reaſons:

The column erected in Athens would certainly be inſcribed in Greek; that erected in Leucon's capital would as certainly be inſcribed in the language of Boſphorus, that his ſubjects might read it; and the third, erected in the Cuban, moſt probably, would record his being elected a citizen of Athens (whoſe fleet then rode triumphant in the Euxine) in the language then predominant in the mountains of Caucaſus; as placing it there could have no other object than to make known to the neighbouring nations the powerful alliance that he had formed.

Now

Now the principal nation of Caucaſus was the kingdom of Colchis, ſituated on the Euxine ſhore; but a city ſtill nearer the ſpot where the column was found was the famous city of Dioſcurias, or Sebaſtapolis, the great mercantile port of thoſe days; which carried on ſo extenſive a commerce, and was frequented by ſo many different nations, that the Romans, when they became maſters of it, found it their intereſt to keep 120 interpreters there, as I have before noticed from Arrian, who was ſent with a Roman fleet to examine and regulate thoſe countries during the reign of Hadrian. I ſhould, therefore, think it moſt probable, that the inſcription on Leucon's Cuban column would be in the language of Sebaſtapolis; ſo that if the Marſhal had really found this pillar, (which I will not take upon me to ſay that he has,) the writing on it would be as unintelligible to us, as is the inſcription on that now in this city. However, ſo far I will venture to aſſert, that there is nothing impoſſible in its being the very column in queſtion, even if it had been always expoſed to the air, inſtead of being buried in the earth; for ſeveral monuments of the ſame period have come down to us in very good preſervation. Leucon's gift of corn is mentioned in an oration of Demoſthenes againſt Leptines; and, if I remember right, the famous orator was one of Leucon's Athenian friends. We learn one more curious fact from this eloquent ſpeech, viz. that Theodocia was then one of the greateſt commercial cities in the antient world; and Pliny tells us, that the exploits of this very ſame prince Leucon II. were celebrated by the Greek philoſopher Chryſippus, whoſe work is loſt; ſo that, on the whole, the exiſtence, gift, and column of the Boſphoric ſovereign, is well aſcertained by claſſic authors; and if we ſhould actually poſſeſs it in Peterſburg, it will be a moſt valuable antique indeed.

It is, probably, unneceſſary to add, that the kingdom of Boſphorus was ſituated on the two ſhores of the ſtraits of Jenikal, or the Cimmerian Boſphorus of the Antients, that join the Black to the Aſoff Sea, and included ſome part of the Taurida, on one ſide as far as the city of Caffa, or Theodocia, which belonged to it; and the iſland of Phanagoria, or Taman, on the other; with ſome part of the Cuban; poſſibly the poſition of Suworoff's column may have marked its boundary on the ſide of Colchis[225], its rival in arms and commerce;

[225] It is a curious fact, which ſeems to confirm the erection of the two columns in the ſpots that I have indicated above, that I found one Medal of Panticapeum, and another of Dioſcurias, bearing

commerce; and, indeed, it may have been for that very purpoſe that the pillar was erected there; and its inſcription may contain nothing more than a claim of the territory that it ſtood upon, with the name of the prince who erected it, &c. &c.; which, I muſt own, is fully as probable as its being the famous column erected by Leucon on his election into the body of Athenian citizens, however much I may wiſh to find the Attic monument in Peterſburg.

ROMAN ENTRENCHMENTS.

The laſt ſubject that I ſhall glance at in paſſing is, the military earthen works, called Roman, near which Suworof found the before-mentioned column.

Now I cannot conceive on what occaſion it could be that the Romans threw them up; for, although Mithridates eſcaped to the Boſphorus by this road after his defeat by Pompey near the Euphrates, in the year 65 before Chriſt, and although his conqueror made every effort to follow him, ſtill we know that the Albanians gave him ſo much employment in paſſing through their country, even making him turn back to chaſtiſe them when he had got down to Colchis on the ſea ſhore, that he never could get ſo far as the Cuban before he heard of the death of the old hero, ſubdued at laſt only by domeſtic treaſon, after keeping the Romans at bay for thirty years, and often defeating their legions. It is more probable, that Mithridates may have thrown up theſe works on getting to his kingdom of Boſphorus (then governed by a treacherous ſon), to defend its entry againſt the Romans, or, he may have erected them on a former occaſion, when, as we are told by Appian, the old king was engaged in a military expedition againſt the Achæans in the Cuban, during the only reſpite that he ever had from the reſtleſs republicans during his long reign, by the friendſhip of Sylla, who kept them quiet for a time; but on the death of the Dictator they fell upon him again, and he was

bearing each a column on the *Reverſe*; and I have given a ſketch of both in Letters LXXXVIII. and LXXXIX. of this Tour.

ſuddenly

ſuddenly called from this very expedition in the Cuban, to defend his own dominions againſt the Romans. Thus, there are two occaſions on which the warlike king of Pontus may have thrown up the works ſeen by our Marſhal; but I know of none when the Romans could have done it, unleſs it was after their becoming poſſeſſors of the Greek cities on this coaſt, the neareſt of which to theſe intrenchments, was Pytius Magna, down upon the ſea ſhore, above a hundred miles diſtant; ſo that I ſtill do not ſee what they were to do with military works at the river Cuban. The Boſphorus was always governed by its own kings tributary to the Romans, after the death of Mithridates, who poiſoned himſelf in Kerch, the Panticapeos of the Greeks, and Panticapeum of the Romans.

N° IV.

COPY

Of a PAPER by the EDITOR, on ſome curious objects of Antiquity found in the Antient Greek TOMBS mentioned in LETTER V. of the TOUR, as having been lately diſcovered at the Mouth of the DNIESTER, or TYRAS, and now in his Collection.

[Tranſmitted to the Society of Antiquaries.]

SIR,

IN a Paper preſented in 1795 to the Antiquarian Society of London[*], and read on the 20th of November of that year, as I ſee by a letter of thanks now before me, I mentioned ſome antient tombs juſt then diſcovered by Major-General Wollant, a Dutch engineer in the ſervice of Ruſſia, in digging the foundation of a new fort on the North ſhore of the Euxine, or Black Sea, near the mouth of the Dnieſter, the Tyras of the Antients. We know, from both Greek and Roman authority, that Grecian, and afterwards Roman colonies were planted on that coaſt, more eſpecially toward the mouths of the larger rivers, which ran through Scythia into the Black and Aſoff Seas; ſuch, for inſtance, as the colony and city of Tyras on the river of that name, now the Dnieſter, where theſe tombs are found; the city of Olbia, or Olbiapolis, on the

[*] For the ſubſtance of this firſt Paper, ſee Letters V. and VI.

 Boryſthenes,

Boryſthenes, now the Dnieper; and Tanais, on the river Tanais, now Aſoff; on the Don, &c. &c.[227]

It is, however, a queſtion, to which of theſe antient nations the newly-diſcovered ſepulchres belong, although it is pretty evident that they appertained to one of them, from the form of the vaſes, ſtanding one at each end of thoſe curious tombs (or rather Oſſuarii), from the aſhes and penates conſtantly contained within them, and the ſepulchral lamp as conſtantly found ſtanding on the top of each, &c.

I forgot to mention in my former Paper, that there is nothing in antiquity which conveys ſo juſt an idea of theſe uncommon tombs as the *Oſſuarium*, or ſquare box, in which the Antients ſent home the bones and aſhes of a perſon deceaſed abroad; for, I believe the Arca, or Loculus, as well as the Sarcophagus, were appropriated to the corpſe in its entire ſtate, like the coffin of the moderns, and never, that I recollect, to the burnt remains of the funeral pile.

Indeed, I believe that they were little uſed except for children, who were not burnt before they had cut their teeth, after the introduction of the latter practice. It is impoſſible for a naturaliſt, when ſpeaking of the Sarcophagus, even to the Antiquarian Society, whoſe line of reſearch may poſſibly not extend ſo far, not to wiſh ſome inquiry inſtituted into the nature of the cauſtic ſtone with which that fleſh-conſuming-coffin was made which decompoſed a corpſe in 40 days. I own myſelf ignorant of ſuch a foſſil, and cannot conceive of what ſpecies of earth it could be compoſed.

It is true, our calcareous ſtones, when deprived by fire of their fixed air, or carbonic acid gas, poſſeſs that quality; but they fall to pieces on abſorbing the humidity of the atmoſphere; now, even ſuppoſing that this were prevented by inſtantly burying the Sarcophagus and its contents in dry ſand (an improbable ſuppoſition for many reaſons), yet, as we are told that this curious ſtone was

[227] I have given other proofs, drawn from medals and Greek inſcriptions ſent me from the North ſhore of the Euxine, in a little work ſtill in Manuſcript, which will ſerve as a continuation of my "Ruſſian Antiquities," ſince the countries that I have now treated of are become a part of the Ruſſian empire by the peace of Kainargi and Jaſſy; nay, I believe we might venture to ſay, that they are only reſtored to this empire, if we are to give credit to the conqueſts of the Ruſſian hero Swetoſlaf, or Sviatoſlav, and his illuſtrious ſon Volodimir the Great, as recorded in the Chronicle of Neſtor.

brought

brought from the town of Aſſos in Troas, it muſt have contracted humidity on the way, and of courſe could not be our lime-ſtone rendered cauſtic by the proceſs of burning.

But, indeed, Dioſcorides, Pliny, and Galen, make it a very different ſtone, light, ſpungy, and friable, and covered with a mealy powder called the flowers of Aſſian-ſtone. They ſay, or rather Galen ſays, that this powder had a ſaltiſh taſte, and was of ſo cauſtic a nature, that it corroded fleſh much ſooner than the ſtone itſelf; while Dioſcorides tells us, that the ſtone was of a greyiſh colour, with numerous yellow veins.

An inquiry then into the exiſtence and nature of this curious ſtone, I preſume to ſuggeſt to the Antiquarian or Royal Societies; and in the mean time ſhall write to the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Conſtantinople (an old acquaintance), to endeavour to procure me a ſpecimen of the famous Aſſian ſtone, if ſtill to be met with on the antient ſpot.

To return to the more immediate ſubject of this letter, I have lately received from the North ſhore of the Euxine two of the curioſities found in the newly-diſcovered tombs; viz. one of the Vaſes, and one of the Penates, which, as they may poſſibly ſerve to throw ſome light on the ſubject, I ſhall here deſcribe and accompany my paper with accurate drawings, as I formerly did the tomb (fancifully ſuppoſed by ſome people to be that of Ovid), with the exact ſketch ſent me by the General himſelf, which I hope ſerved to render my account of it more intelligible to the learned Society. The Vaſe is of a handſome ſhape; and ſo very large, that it is a wonder to ſee it brought upwards of 2000 verſts by land perfectly entire in all its parts. It appears to me to be the (Κάδος) Cados of the Greeks, and the Amphora of the Romans, or the common wine veſſel of both nations. I have, however, obtained a collateral proof of this fact, by meaſuring the quantity of liquid that it contains, after corking the hole always left in the bottom of this ſpecies of veſſel for the convenience of cleaning it when empty[228].

It

[228] I have given below the exact dimenſions for thoſe who make a ſtudy of ſuch objects of antiquity:

	Feet, Inches, Engliſh.
Height, when ſtanding upright — — —	2 8
Circumference at the belly, or largeſt part — —	3 11
——— at the bottom, where it tapers down to —	1 2

It is well known, that the Cados and Amphora held two urnæ, or forty-eight ſextarii; now, counting a pint and a half to a ſextarius, the forty-eight ſextarii make juſt nine gallons, or thirty-ſix bottles, exactly the quantity that filled my vaſe.

Other queſtions now ariſe: How came the Amphora, or its ſubdiviſions (for I have ſeen drawings of both the urnæ and modi found there), to be the ſpecies of vaſe conſtantly found in our Scythio-Grecian ſepulchres, and never with any aſhes in them; as if they had been placed there for Lachrymal urns? This is a ridiculous ſuppoſition, as the company of mourners muſt have been large indeed, who could be ſuppoſed to have wept my Amphora full. However, the hole at the bottom was probably plugged with cork, or ſome ſuch periſhable matter, according to the cuſtom of the Antients; in which caſe, it muſt have been decompoſed in a lapſe of ages; and the aſhes, if ever they contained any, returned to their kindred earth[229] ſome hundred years before our pioneers diſcovered thoſe manſions of the dead: ſo that it ſeems difficult to determine whether the urns were originally empty or full, though one would rather ſuppoſe the latter to be the caſe.

I am, in ſome meaſure, entitled to ſpeak thus poſitively of the great antiquity of theſe urns, from a curious circumſtance attending mine; viz. its being incruſtated with *ſea ſhells in a foſſile ſtate*[230]. Now this evidently demonſtrates two

	Feet, Inches, Engliſh.	
Circumference at the neck — — — —	1	6
Length of the neck — — — —	0	10
——— of each handle — — — —	0	11½
The two handles, almoſt ſtraight, are fixed to within about an inch of the top, or mouth.		
Diameter of the mouth — — — —	0	5½
——— of the hole at the bottom — — —	0	4

N. B. There is juſt room left to admit the hands eaſily between the vaſe and the handles in lifting it.

[229] I am aware that this is very unphiloſophical language at the end of the 18th century, when the human corpſe is ſuppoſed to reſolve into the elaſtic fluids of which it is compoſed; but ſtill, if I were perfectly convinced of the fact, the Engliſh language does not yet yield to ſuch flights before dinner, when a man writes in proſe.

[230] The ſhells, though ſomewhat changed in their foſſile ſtate, and by the friction of ſo long a land-journey, ſeem to be the genera of Anomia, Mactra, Oſterea, and probably Cardium; the whole

two things; firſt, that they could not have originally been buried very deep to have been overflowed by the ſea; ſecondly, that they were then within the reach of that element, although found at a great diſtance from the Euxine, with ten feet of earth above them.

I need not ſay much upon this ſubject, to convince thoſe who have paid attention to ſuch phœnomena, that theſe two laſt-mentioned facts indicate a high antiquity; as the retreat of the ſea is a very gradual and ſlow operation, and the formation of a certain quantity of vegetable earth no leſs ſo.

In my reading I recollect but one ſpot on the globe that furniſhes us with data wherefrom to judge of the time that vegetable earth takes to form, and that is the ſmall quantity as yet collected on a ſtratum of lava thrown out by Ætna 2000 years ago, during the ſecond Punic war.

We know that, during the ſiege of Syracuſe by the Romans, a detachment ſent to its relief from Tauronienum was ſtopped by this ſtream of lava, which had already reached the ſea when the troops came up to it, and on that account were obliged to make a circuit of a hundred miles another way, to reach the place of their deſtination. Now this antient lava has accumulated but a ſcanty covering of vegetable earth in two thouſand years, not ſufficient to be arable, or to produce either corn or vines[231].

Judging then from this ſolitary inſtance (for I know of no other), my vaſe muſt be of high antiquity, by the quantity of earth collected over it, even ſuppoſing that it was originally buried four feet below the ſurface; for there will ſtill remain an accumulation of ſix, which certainly indicates a lapſe of many ages. As to the time that the Euxine may have taken to retreat to its preſent bed, I have not the ſame data to go upon, for want of the exact diſtance between the tombs and the new ſea-mark; but have applied to friends on the ſpot for the required meaſurement; which, when obtained, may, I believe, be of ſome uſe; as even in Britain you have land gained from the ſea, and in all probability hiſtorical records of its gradual increaſe; it is always underſtood, however, that accumulations of ſand are out of the queſtion, for

whole interwoven like net-work, by Serpula, miſtaken by thoſe who ſent me the vaſe for petrified earth-worms, which they certainly reſemble very much. The incruſtation adheres ſo firmly, that the vaſe would probably break in ſeparating any part of it, if attempted.

[231] See the account of the hiſtorian of Ætna, Signior Recupero, in the Firſt Volume of Brydone's Travels through Sicily and Malta, page 124.

evident

evident reaſons. I ſhall now finiſh the ſubject of my Amphora, with remarking, that its having been employed in a hypogea ſeems not peculiar to the North ſhore of the Euxine, as I ſee five ſepulchral and lachrymal urns[232], all of this form, in the plates of Andrew Bardon, Profeſſor in the Royal Academy of Painting in Paris; nay, one of them has even a plug ſtill remaining in the bottom hole of the Amphora; ſo that it has either lain a ſhorter time in the earth than mine, or been placed in a drier ſituation, with the cork or plug well covered with roſin, which we ſee has preſerved Egyptian mummies for ſome thouſand years, in the dry ſituations where they are found.

The other preſent that I have received from the ſame place is, one of the Penates found in thoſe antient tombs, or oſſuarii on the Tyras; but very different from the little delicate female buſt deſcribed in my laſt; for, on the contrary, this figure has its virility ſtrongly marked by a large buſhy beard, and the Phallus moſt conſpicuouſly and ſingularly placed a little below the middle of his belly, in lieu of a navel; while four nymphs are climbing upon his body.

Which of the heathen gods of antiquity this curious houſehold god was intended to repreſent, is not for me to determine in a country where there is ſo little aſſiſtance to be had in ſuch inquiries.

This figure, made of the ſame potter's clay as the urns, ſepulchral lamps, buſt, &c. found in the Euxine hypogea, has a well-executed head, placed on one of the ſquare ſhapeleſs trunks that always repreſent the body of Terminus, and ſometimes that of Priapus when charged with the care of a garden; three female figures are repreſented at different heights clinging to his ſides; nay, one of them has got aſtride his right ſhoulder, and ſeems looking

[232] In Vol. I. Plate 51, Bardon gives a ſepulchral urn of the Amphora form, diſtinguiſhed from all other vaſes by always tapering to a point towards the bottom; ſo as not to ſtand upright without being ſtuck in the ground; an excellent conſtruction for wine veſſels, as they muſt always have been laid on their ſides till buried in the earth, which would ſwell the cork and prevent communication with the atmoſphere. In Plate 52, he gives two more. In plate 60, a lachrymal urn of the ſame ſhape, with the word *Amitiæ* and two hearts on its ſide, which ſhow that it was dedicated to Friendſhip. In Vol. II. Plate 76, a fourth; and, laſtly, in Plate 69, he gives a moſt curious lachrymal urn of the Amphora form, with the head of one of the hired female mourners, or *Præficæ*, ſerving as a cover, or ſtopper, to its upper orifice, or mouth.

N. B. One of theſe Amphoræ (the firſt mentioned above) has a cork or plug in the lower hole.

over

over the old man's head at a fourth, offering at his feet what looks like a pye, or ſome kind of very large fruit, poſſibly a water-melon, the moſt common production of the country, to cool him, or to gain permiſſion to climb up after her comrades.

Notwithſtanding his wanton companions, and indecent ventral ornament, I cannot believe this pagan deity intended for Priapus, as he is perfectly devoid of the leer, the horns, the ears, and the laurel or vine crown of the laſcivious claſſic god; unleſs it ſhould be ſome colonial modification of him, poſſibly Scythian; as Herodotus tells us, that even as early as the time when he viſited his countrymen ſituated on this coaſt, they had already adopted many of the rites and cuſtoms of the Scythians with whom they had long intermarried, and in return given their own mythology and rites to ſeveral tribes whom he names.

Further inquiry into the nature and origin of my Penates I muſt leave to the learned Society, and content myſelf with remarking, that I have ſomewhere ſeen the print of a Nilometre ſomething like it; for, if I remember right, female figures attached at different heights to the old god of that famous river (perſonified not unlike mine,) marked the different altitudes of the Nile during its riſe from the Tropic rains. Should, therefore, my Penates be ſuppoſed of Egyptian manufacture, there is no great miracle in its being found at the mouth of the Tyras; as I have ſhown, in another work before alluded to in this Letter, that Egypt had antiently planted a colony on the Eaſt ſide of the Euxine, at no very great diſtance, viz. in the antient kingdom of Colchis; probably at the time when your Learned Preſident tells us, in his Diſſertation on the Siege of Troy, that the Egyptians were maſters of theſe ſeas, had ſubdued a part of the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and left a colony in Greece. Now all the colonies on the ſhores of the Euxine had much commercial intercourſe, and carried on a conſtant exchange or barter of their reſpective commodities; but, above all, the merchandiſe of Colchis was in univerſal demand, as that antient kingdom not only cultivated the weed of the Nile, *flax*, but likewiſe made ſail-cloth and cordage of it; beſides furniſhing timber for the conſtruction of ſhips from Mount Caucaſus; ſo that it was the great mart of naval ſtores in thoſe days, as likewiſe for Eaſt India goods, then brought to Colchis by the Caſpian, Cyrus, and Phaſis; when, therefore, we add to thoſe ſources of wealth, the gold waſhed down from its mountains by torrents through the bed of the famous gold-rolling Hypaſis (which they uſed to collect by ſinking woolly ſheep-

ſheep-ſkins in the brook), farmed to this day to Jews by the Turks, it is little wonder if its riches allured a ſet of needy Grecian adventurers, or that they made a ſort of miracle of their Argonautic expedition in the infancy of their navigation; and it certainly was a great exploit for them, though I much doubt whether either the Phœnicians or Egyptians would have thought ſo ſhort and trifling a voyage worth recording. As, however, this firſt trip to the Black Sea opened a wide field of commerce to theſe young merchants, their rulers acted politically in making a noiſe about it, with the ſtory of the Golden Fleece, &c. (probably only one of the woolly ſheep-ſkins drawn out of the Hypaſis beſpangled with particles of gold) to direct the attention of their juvenile navigators to the Euxine; where piracy, when reſiſted, would ſoon end in peaceable barter and commercial connexion, as was afterwards the caſe.

I ſhall now conclude this long letter with acknowledging myſelf at preſent a convert to General Wollant's opinion relative to the Grecian origin of the Tombs that he diſcovered; ſince I am now in poſſeſſion of data to form an opinion upon; which was not the caſe when I wrote laſt, nor had I then made ſo particular a ſtudy of the antient and modern hiſtory of the country where they were found; and I now agree with him, that they ſeem to have been depoſited many ages before Ovid's exile to the North ſhore of the Euxine[333].

I mentioned in my former Paper, that the General founded his opinion on the exquiſite workmanſhip of the little buſt which the late Empreſs, on comparing with others in her fine collection of antiquities, thought to reſemble the beautiful daughter of Auguſtus (the ſecret, though not the oſtenſible cauſe of the poet's exile); and on this circumſtance, joined to that of the lake at the mouth of the Dnieper, where it was found, bearing ſtill the name of Ovid in the language of the country, was founded the opinion, that the buſt of Julia had been diſcovered in the aſhes of her old lover, the unfortunate Roman bard. But General Wollant, on the contrary, maintained, that both the face and workmanſhip was Grecian, while the print of the human ſkin, ſtill viſible on the buſt, ſhowed it to have been formed by the fingers of wet clay, and

[333] Independent of much valuable information furniſhed me by friends on the North ſhore of the Euxine, I was many years ago ſent thither myſelf by the late Empreſs on profeſſional duty; a journey that ſuggeſted the firſt idea of my former work, from the number of antique curioſities, &c. which I remarked in travelling through Ruſſia, Moldavia, the antient Scythia, &c. beſides furniſhing ſome materials for the Work that I am now engaged in.

afterwards

afterwards baked, according to the practice of the Greeks; and that the hair gathered up on the forehead, in form of a crescent, indicated a bust of Diana, who then had her temple in the Taurida, or Crimea, at no great distance, and was worshipped on all this coast. I likewise made two remarks which had escaped my friend, though they made strongly for his hypothesis; viz. that a Grecian colony (that of Tyras) once stood at the mouth of the Dniester; and that I observed three Greek letters Απσ on one of the vases in the sketch that he had himself made for me, and which I had the honour of transmitting to the Antiquarian Society; to whom I beg to present a second time my humble respects; and to you, Sir, the thanks and compliments of

Your very obedient humble servant,

M. GUTHRIE.

Imperial Corps of Noble Cadets in St. Petersburg,
August 20, 1798.

P. S. A pair of much better eyes than mine, belonging to an ingenious young portrait-painter, who called to draw my antiques (though much out of his line), instantly discovered, that the offering which the Nymph is making at the feet of my penates, is a *ram's head*, which I now see clearly myself by the help of my glass, since it was pointed out to me. This discovery seems to strengthen a surmise which I formerly threw out, that my penates might have been intended to represent Priapus, or, possibly, *Pan*, whose bushy-bearded head appears so often with much propriety on coins struck in a country of shepherds. I have described those of Olbio on the Dnieper, Cherson in the Taurida, and Panticapeos on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, all bearing a head of Pan. However, as conjecture is allowed on such occasions, may not this figure represent the genius of the small peninsula of Heraclea Chersonesus (at no great distance), the sacred site of the Tauric Diana's Temple, once worshipped on all this coast, and whose bust was found in one of these tombs? What suggested this idea was, that the little peninsula, which was separated from the large peninsula of Taurica Chersonesus, by the famous fortified wall built by the Heracleans from the opposite coast (when they left a

colony here, and was afterwards taken by Mithridates's General Diophantes, when he ſubdued its tyrant Scilurus and his fifty ſons), ſo much reſembles, on a good map, a ram's head, that the Greeks called it *Criu Motopon*; though I obſerve, that ſome geographers only apply that name to one of its promontories, which makes the noſe of the ram, while the two capes at the entrance of the noble port of Sebaſtapol, where the Ruſſian fleet now rides (the Sinus Portuoſus of the Antients), makes its two horns.

N°. V.

A THIRD PAPER,

Sent at the ſame Time with the SECOND (as a kind of APPENDIX),
Auguſt 25, 1798.

I STILL poſſeſs another curious relick of antiquity, likewiſe ſent me from the ſhores of the Euxine; but, as I have no proof of its connexion with the antient Tombs, the ſubject of my two papers to the Society, I ſhall deſcribe it thus ſeparately; though I have little doubt that that Learned Body will think it worthy their attention.

Moſt unfortunately, I could procure no certain information with regard to the exact ſpot where it was found, and other intereſting circumſtances attending its diſcovery; and could only learn from the Gentleman who preſented it to me, that he had it from an inhabitant of the North ſhore of the Euxine, who had purchaſed it from a Tartar on the coaſt.

The workmanſhip appears Egyptian; and I ſhould think that the figure may repreſent one of the Prieſts of the Nile; from the lower part of the man terminating in the mouth of a crocodile, while the upper part of his face is veiled by the hood of his black gown, or upper mantle, and his legs and feet are concealed from public view by a particular arrangement of his under-garment; all peculiarities of dreſs that ſerve to indicate ſome particular ſacerdotal miniſtry in the Pagan worſhip of the Nile, at leaſt as far as the ſtile of ſculpture, and the appropriated emblem of the *crocodile*, can fix it on that antient ſeat of ſcience and the arts.

This little ſtatue, which is only two inches and a quarter high, is cut out of a ſmall block of marble *à deux couches*, compoſed of one black and one white layer. Out of the white layer, the ſculptor has formed the whole figure of the man, in a ſtiff upright poſition, with his left arm croſſed over his breaſt; while with the right he is holding his under garment gathered up into folds, in a particular manner, ſo as to form a kind of bag to conceal his feet from the eyes of ſpectators.

The ſecond, or black layer of marble, is chiſſeled into a ſpecies of looſe flowing mantle, or gown, which merely adheres to his back, without covering any part of the human figure, except the forehead, eyes, and noſe; leaving the white mouth and beard to contraſt ſtrongly with the black upper part of the face.

The body of the gown (for I ſuppoſe it to be the hood that is drawn over the head) falls down the back, and terminates a little below the feet, in form of the upper jaw of a crocodile; as if the whole mantle was formed of the ſkin of that amphibious animal, with the head hanging downwards; as we ſee the ſkins of lions and tigers thrown over the ſhoulders of the heroes of antiquity during the period of Nimrodian atchievement.

You muſt not, however, ſuppoſe that all this is lightly expreſſed by the Egyptian ſculptor; on the contrary, this little black mantle is a heavy clumſy piece of dreſs, more like a mattraſs for thickneſs, than an airy robe; for I took a bold poetic licence in repreſenting it as flowing on his back, merely to convey the idea of its covering no part of the body, but falling in a ſtraight line from the head down to the feet.

On the back of this ſpecies of ſtone mummy (for the ſtiffneſs and conſtrained attitude of the little figure almoſt places it in that claſs) is engraven a line of characters (certainly not hieroglyphics) that extends the whole length of the robe; but what they mean I muſt leave to the Learned Society to diſcover.

I entertain hopes, that the inſcription, joined to the peculiarities of dreſs ſo remarkable in the figure now deſcribed, may enable ſome Member of the Society who has made the antiquities of Egypt a favourite ſtudy, to give us ſome information on the ſubject; while, in the mean time, I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that the finding of this Egyptian relick on the ſhore of the Euxine ſeems in ſome meaſure to ſtrengthen the opinion of a colony from that nation being once ſettled in Colchis, as aſſerted by the Antients, and by the inhabitants themſelves in the time of Herodotus; who informs us of a very

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eſſential fact, viz. that they alone of all the numerous nations of Caucaſus practiſed *circumciſion*.

Since writing the two foregoing papers I have received the required information relative to the diſtance between the antient Tombs and the Euxine; which is juſt twelve verſts and a half, or a little more than eight Engliſh miles. Admiral de Ribos, late commander in chief of all the fortifications erecting in thoſe countries, and under whom General Wollant acted as engineer, moſt obligingly furniſhed me with the required diſtance, and likewiſe put into my hand a very accurate ſurvey of the ſpot taken by the able foreign engineers employed on that ſervice; from which I ſee that the fort, in digging the foundation of which the tombs were diſcovered, is two verſts and a half farther from the ſea than the City of Ovidopol, founded by order of the late Empreſs on the Liman or lake at the mouth of the Dnieſter, bearing the name of Ovid to this day in the language of the country; which circumſtance, with the diſcovery of the tomb ſuſpected to belong to the ſame Roman poet, ſeems to have determined her Majeſty as to the name of her new city.

In taking leave of the Society, it may not be improper to declare, that my object in collecting the many Greek and Roman medals, inſcriptions, and other remains of antiquity, which I have procured from the North ſhore of the Euxine (more eſpecially from the Tauric Cherſoneſus, the iſland of Phanagoria, the antient kingdom of Boſphorus, &c.) is far from being mere curioſity; but to promote a favourite inquiry into the antient hiſtory of theſe once famous countries. I ſhould, therefore, eſteem myſelf particularly fortunate, if any Member of the Antiquarian Society, who has likewiſe turned his attention to the ſame claſſic region, ſo long ſhut up from reſearch by the barbarous policy of the ignorant Turks, would communicate his ideas on the ſubject; as it would much aſſiſt my inquiries, which muſt naturally grow languid in a part of the world where ſo few take an intereſt in ſuch diſquiſitions.

Diſtantly ſituated as I have been for near 30 years, I have the honour of knowing perſonally but very few of your members, or, indeed, of thoſe of any other Literary Society with which I correſpond. Your Learned Preſident, however, is well known to me by his writings, and ſeems to be the gentleman who, of all others of late, has carried his reſearches neareſt to

my

my range of inquiry. Should any thing have appeared relative to thoſe countries, which has not as yet reached Ruſſia (for I know of nothing but the excurſions of Mr. Dallaway, confined to the South ſhore of the Euxine), pray be ſo kind as to favour me with the title of the book, that I may get it over with the firſt king's meſſenger, ſhould our navigation be frozen up; and you will confer a particular obligation on, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

M. GUTHRIE.

P. S. The upper part of the face being covered, I am told, was a practice with the Egyptian prieſts; to indicate, that the Source of the Nile (lately diſcovered by Bruce) was then hidden from the knowledge of its miniſters, as well as from the world at large.

N°. VI.

[*In this and the following* Article, *in which the ſubjects alluded to are further and more correctly conſidered than before, many* repetitions *will neceſſarily occur; for which the* EDITOR *entreats the indulgence of the candid* Reader. *If all the former part of the* Work *had not been printed previouſly to theſe being prepared, the new matter would have been incorporated with the preceding* Papers *of the* APPENDIX, *and the* repetitions *thus avoided.*]

DESCRIPTION

Of ſome curious GRECIAN TOMBS diſcovered at the Mouth of the DNIESTER, the TYRAS of the ANTIENTS, with the ANTIQUES found in them: one of which is in the IMPERIAL CABINET, and two in the Poſſeſſion of DR. GUTHRIE in ST. PETERSBURG.

SINCE I wrote the two Memoirs to the Antiquarian Society of London, relative to the Grecian Tombs diſcovered at the mouth of the Dnieſter, I have had ſufficient leiſure to ſtudy the curious antiques found in them (now in the Imperial and my own collection) with much more attention than I could then, for ſeveral reaſons; and am, therefore, enabled to treat the ſubject more thoroughly; which I ſhall do in the following Paper, and bring the whole under one point of view as a Supplement to MRS. GUTHRIE'S TOUR to the EUXINE SEA, with which it has a natural connexion; although I ſhall be obliged, in concentrating here the whole information that I have at different times received, to repeat ſome things mentioned in her Letters from the ſpot.

About

About eight years ago that able Dutch engineer, Major-General Wollant, in digging the foundation of a new fort erecting on the Liman or lake at the mouth of the Dnieſter, the Tyras of the Antients, where it falls into the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, diſcovered a number of antique tombs ten feet below the preſent ſurface of the earth, and ſeven verſts from the preſent bed of the Euxine; two marks of high antiquity, as ſhall be ſhown at the end of this paper, by proofs drawn from natural hiſtory.

Each of thoſe ſtone coffins (ſee the ENGRAVING in Letter V. of the TOUR), which Antiquaries may call an Oſſuarium, Arca, Loculus, or Sarcophagus, as they think fit (though I ſhould think the laſt term improper where the cauſtic ſtone had no corpſe to act upon and conſume), contained burned bones, or aſhes; and ſometimes a ſmall figure, or penates, of baked clay lay buried in the calcined remains of the funeral pile; only two of which have found their way to this city, viz. the beautiful female buſt (mentioned in General Wollant's letter to me given below), now in the cabinet of his Imperial Majeſty, and the curious male figure in my own collection, which I called a Penate in my Paper to the Antiquarian Society, merely to give a better idea of the nature of my antique by that well-known name; though well aware that the Greeks had no Dii Penates, objects of ſuperſtition which the Romans did not derive from that refined people, to whom they owed ſo much, but from the Trojans when Eneas brought his houſehold gods with him to Italy. However, in holding thus the language of antiquity, I do not mean to enter into, or vouch for, the hiſtorical veracity of the event.

Before I proceed to deſcribe the curious objects mentioned above, his Excellency's letter to me, announcing his diſcovery, with his opinion of them, will make a proper introduction to the obſervations which I ſhall take the liberty of offering to the publick. The following is an exact tranſlation of General Wollant's letter from the original in French:

" SIR,

" It appears to me, that the little antique buſt which we diſcovered on the banks of the Liman of the Dnieſter, named *Laculi Oviduli* by the natives of the country, may merit your attention; and I am ſorry that important occupations have prevented me till now from informing you of the chance which put us in poſſeſſion of the beautiful antique ſo worthy the attention of connoiſſeurs.

" It repreſents the head of a very handſome woman, and may be about three inches high, made of baked clay, and of exquiſite workmanſhip; bearing

marks

marks of having been formed merely by the fingers, without the uſe of any kind of inſtrument. The profile is Grecian, and the head-dreſs that of Diana; her hair is divided in front into two knots, which form together a ſpecies of creſcent; the back of the head is covered with a veil; and although that drapery ſeems but ſlightly wrought, ſtill it is highly finiſhed, and anſwers well to the reſt of the buſt.

"This antique, ſo worthy of attention, was found in one of the Tombs which we daily diſcover in our works at the fortifications erecting on the banks of the above Liman (lake) of the Dnieſter; and the conſtruction of theſe ſepulchres is as curious as intereſting.

"Five flat ſtones of a ſpathic ſchiſtus (ſlate) compoſe a ſpecies of urn[234] which contains human bones, charcoal, and in general a ſort of broken ſepulchral lamp, with a jar, all of the ſame baked clay. I ſend you a Drawing of the Tomb in which the buſt was found, with two large jars (one of which the Writer afterwards received), ſtanding in the poſition repreſented in my ſketch. My conjectures lead me to ſuppoſe that our buſt repreſents a penate goddeſs buried with the aſhes of the dead; who by the ſize of the tomb, and being furniſhed with two vaſes, while the others have but one, ſeems to have been a perſon of diſtinction. The head-dreſs of the buſt leads to a ſuppoſition that it muſt be the figure of Diana, if the veil does not rather indicate one of her prieſteſſes, or a veſtal virgin. Some people will have it to be a head of Julia, from finding its great reſemblance to the portrait of that unfortunate princeſs preſerved to us on medals; and they are the more confirmed in that opinion from the lake on which the Tomb ſtands bearing the name of Ovid in the tradition of the country; but ſtrong reaſons permit us to deny that ever Ovid was beyond the Danube. I have the honour to be with much conſideration, &c."

On this Letter from General Wollant I ſhall remark, that as to the opinion of thoſe who, from the name of the lake, and the reſemblance of the buſt to portraits of the beautiful though lubricious daughter of Auguſtus, think the Tomb that of Ovid, I ſhall ſay little, from my perfect conviction that the

[234] My correſpondent is countenanced in calling the *ſquare* Oſſuarium repreſented in his Drawing (See Letter V.) an *urn*, by the practice of the Italian antiquaries, who give that name to exactly ſuch *ſquare* objects when they contain human aſhes.

ſepulchres and all their contents are Grecian, not Roman; otherwiſe the General's aſſertion that the Roman bard never was beyond the Danube would have but little weight with me, for reaſons ſimilar to thoſe given in Mrs. Guthrie's Letters from the Dnieſter; for, when we reflect on Julia's being the real cauſe of Ovid's exile, among whoſe ſucceſsful lovers he is ſuſpected to have been, and ſhe the fair Corinna that he ſo often celebrates, we find a much better reaſon for her father's anger, than the pretended cauſe of it, his "*Art of Love*;" and in that point of view there would have been nothing ſurpriſing in having found her buſt in the poet's tomb, according to a practice of the Antients explained below. As to its being diſcovered at the mouth of the Dnieſter, when we know from himſelf that he was baniſhed to the mouth of the Danube; we have only to recollect his many applications to his friends in Rome, repeated in almoſt every letter of his "*Triſtia*," to obtain the Emperor's permiſſion for his removal from the fortified town of Tome to ſome more wholeſome ſituation, where his loſt health might be reſtored in breathing a free air out of conſtant dread of the poiſoned arrows of the hoſtile Getæ; I ſay, when we combine thoſe eternal lamentations with the great eſteem that he was held in by both the Roman garriſon and inhabitants of Tome, who crowned him with laurel, and exempted him from taxes paid by every one elſe; and when we add to all thoſe marks of reſpect the friendſhip of the native prince of the country, the enlightened Cotys V. a brother poet, whoſe medal is given in this Tour; it is difficult to believe that Ovid might not have been indulged ſo far (though we have no order of Auguſtus on record to authoriſe it) as to attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of his health in the neighbouring Roman colony of Tyras on the Dnieſter; more eſpecially as we find (ſee Letter VII. of the Tour) that a couple of inſignificant rivulets ſtill beyond that river bore his name in antiquity; ſo that, although we have no poſitive proof of Ovid ever having been to the North Eaſt of the Danube, I cannot think my correſpondent can ſhow cauſe for poſitively ſaying that he never was.

As to the General's *own* opinion of the buſt (for, the idea of its reſembling Julia, he only gives as that of others), I perfectly agree with him, that the workmanſhip and profile are Grecian; but I cannot ſubſcribe to its repreſenting Diana, although rendered probable by that goddeſs having antiently her temple in the Taurida, and being worſhipped on all the coaſt. However, to enable the

the reader to form a judgement on the ſubject, I have given a moſt exquiſite and exact Drawing of the charming little object (ſee Plate I.) with the obſervations which have occurred to me, from an examination of the *original*, through the indulgence of the learned Antiquary Mr. Koehler, under whoſe care that and all the other precious antiques of the Imperial cabinet are moſt deſervedly placed.

It is made of baked clay, two and a half Engliſh inches, high, and repreſents (as the General ſays) a beautiful young woman, with the marked Grecian profile ſo well known to painters, with her hair dreſſed in the form called by the Antients *Corymbus*, and commonly given to Venus and Apollo; but ſhe wears no creſcent or other attribute of a divinity; on the contrary, it rather appears to me to be one of the Imagunculæ or Plagunculæ mentioned by Cicero in his letters to Atticus, or one of the ſmall images given by Roman ladies to their favourite lover, as a modern lady would give her picture. It is true, the Imagunculæ generally were of wax, as they came from the Lady's hands; but it is as certain, that the favoured gentlemen, to make them more durable, had them caſt in baked clay; or Count Caylus could not have aſſembled ſuch a number of them, all of that laſt-mentioned matter, both Grecian and Roman, as he has delineated in the firſt, ſecond, and fifth Volume of his "Recueil d'Antiquites;" and, what is very ſingular, all found in Tombs of Egypt; which would make it ſeem as if the practice had obtained more in that country than in any other governed by the Greeks and Romans, for the lovers to be interred with the buſt of their miſtreſſes, a cuſtom which muſt have exiſted under the Ptolemies, as well as Cæſars, as the Imagunculæ in the collection of Count Caylus are of Grecian as well as of Roman workmanſhip. I will juſt hint at an antient native practice of Egypt, fully explained in my ſecond Memoir, which may have poſſibly determined the cuſtom of the conquerors of the country, of burying their Imagunculæ with them in their tombs; viz. the Egyptian practice of burying with their mummies ſmall figures in baked clay of Oſiris, or Iſis Averſunca. (See the Paper on my Egyptian Scarabæus, APPENDIX, No. V.)

Our little Grecian buſt ſeems likewiſe to have been moulded in wet clay, and afterwards baked in an oven; but whether from an image of wax, we have no means of judging; however, it appears only to have been the face and forepart of it that was preſſed into the mould; while the back part, on the con-

trary, was certainly left out, and afterwards merely ſlightly ſculptured with ſome inſtrument, and the ſuperfluous clay cut off, which has produced ſomething like the ſimilitude of a veil, though we cannot take upon us to ſay (notwithſtanding our reſpect for the opinion of General Wollant) that the artiſt poſitively meant to repreſent that ſpecies of drapery; although, indeed, the reader will judge for himſelf of all thoſe circumſtances, from the accurate Drawing that I have had made by a painter of reputation.

I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the two valuable relicks of antiquity in my own collection, from the ſame Tombs; the one a preſent from the General Popoff, the other from Mr. Felix de Ribas.

The firſt of them (ſee Plate III. fig. 3.) is a figure of baked clay, or potter's red ware, four inches and three quarters high. It repreſents a bearded head on one of the ſhapeleſs trunks which the Antients conſtantly gave to Terminus, often to Priapus, and ſometimes to Pan; but what render this antique *unique* of its kind are three female figures climbing up the old man's body, one of whom has got aſtride his right ſhoulder, and ſeems looking down at a fourth female, offering a ram's-head at his feet.

The Phallus ſo conſpicuouſly placed on his belly ſeems to announce this figure as a repreſentation of Priapus; but, as it wants the horns, ears, and appropriate crown of that antient emblem of generation, and, inſtead of the laſcivious leer of the wanton god, has a ſedate decent countenance, I will hazard a conjecture, that it poſſibly may have been meant for Pan, god of ſhepherds, ſo often ſeen on coins of this paſtoral country (ſee the Tour for ſeveral of them), ſporting with his nymphs; for Grecian mythology not only makes Pan be educated by nymphs on mount Mœnatus in his native country Arcadia, but afterwards their leader, they having followed him from love to his muſic; and if we could credit Dionyſius, that the Pan of the Greeks was a modification of Oſiris, we might then account for another ſtriking character of our penates, the glaring Phallus, from what Plutarch ſays of the Egyptian god, *membrum virile eſt ipſi arrectum*, to indicate (adds the moraliſt) the generative power of the deity. Now we know that it was a practice in Egypt to inter with the dead ſmall figures of Oſiris in baked clay, as well as ſtones cut in form of the beetle, and covered with engraved objects of their worſhip; and as the Greeks took ſo many other things from Egypt, they may likewiſe have taken that cuſtom.

However,

However, as conjecture is free, and indeed is the only reſource we have in ſuch a caſe where the object is unique, and where of courſe we have no compariſons to guide our judgement, we might ſuppoſe the four female figures the four ſeaſons or hours; more eſpecially as then the ram's head may have ſome reference to the ſeaſon of the year when Oſiris, or the ſun, enters that ſign of the zodiac; I ſay, this, like the laſt, might appear a very plauſible conjecture, did not a ſtubborn fact ſtand in the way of both; which is, that the females are dreſſed in the common Greek garb, with the veil called *Calyptera*, on their heads and ſhoulders, which Grecian women conſtantly wore when they went abroad; ſo that their coſtume will neither bear out the idea of nymphs or of hours, unleſs we can believe that the Antients took ſometimes ſculptoric as well as poetic licence.

I make little doubt but that the placid countenance and well-combed beard (ſo unlike the face and buſhy beard of Pan) will make ſome readers ſuppoſe it rather the head of Jove than the god of ſhepherds, conſtantly placed on ſuch ſhapeleſs trunks to repreſent Terminus; and in that caſe, if any one can ſuggeſt a reaſon for finding Jupiter in ſuch company, I will give up my own conjecture of Pan, of which I am not over fond. The ram's head offered at his feet can be no impediment to the hypotheſis, as Jupiter was worſhipped in Egypt under the form of a ram, though the Greeks drew him in human ſhape with only the horns of a ram, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. But in ſpite of all that I can conjecture in favour of the more decent and modeſt nature of my antique, I am afraid that the weight of evidence will be found for its repreſenting Priapus; and even the decent placidity of his countenance will not avail, as Count Caylus gives us two figures of Priapus with the head of Jupiter. But the analogy, above all others, that fixes its character, is a painting on an outſide wall in Pompeia, repreſenting Priapus with a ſtill more remarkable Phallus, ſurrounded with wine veſſels and girls, one of whom is in the act of offering him a ram; — a ſtriking coincidence! This curious ſign-poſt has led Antiquaries to ſuſpect that the houſe was not of the beſt fame; and I ſhould be ſorry to think that we had diſcovered at the mouth of the Tyras the tomb of the matron of a houſe of this denomination, who had been buried with the inſignia of her profeſſion.

My ſecond antique (ſee Plate III. fig. 2) is one of the Vaſes which belonged to the largeſt of the tombs, the ſame as ſketched by the General, and, like all the other objects, of potters' ware; it is two feet eight inches high, and three

feet

feet eleven inches in circumference. It is incruſtated inſide and outſide with ſea-ſhells in a foſſile ſtate; a curious fact which I ſhall ſoon make uſe of to prove the high antiquity of the tombs. It ſeems the Kados of the Greeks and the Amphora of the Romans, both in form and ſize; a fact very evident from the well-known figure of that antique wine veſſel, ſo pointed at the bottom as to be incapable of ſtanding upright, if not fixed in the earth; wiſely deſtined for an inclining poſition, ſo as to make the liquor ſwell the cork, and exclude the air, as we place our modern bottles for the ſame purpoſe; but I have likewiſe aſcertained the identity of my Vaſe with the Greek and Roman jar, by meaſuring the quantity of liquor that it can contain, which I find to be forty-eight ſextarii, or thirty-ſix modern bottles, counting one pint and a half Engliſh to a ſextarius, exactly the quantity which the Amphora contained, the Diota Sabina of Horace; this our Euxine coloniſts may have obtained from the famous pottery on the iſland of Samos, which furniſhed even Rome with the Vaſa Samia.

It may excite ſurpriſe to find only the common Greek and Roman wine veſſel employed as ſepulchral urns in our Euxine Tombs; for all that I have either ſeen or heard of from thence are either the Amphora, or its ſubdiviſions the Urnæ and Modii, the one holding half, the other a quarter of the Amphora, or Kados. However, this practice does not ſeem to have been confined to the colonies on the Black Sea, any more than the ſingular conſtruction of their tombs without the uſe of any kind of cement to keep the plates together; for thoſe given in the laſt Work of Sir William Hamilton, as the tombs of the firſt Greek colonies who ſettled in Italy, are compoſed exactly like ours, of five large flat ſtones put together without cement; while the Vaſes found in them are exactly of the ſame form with mine, and both found, to make the coincidence ſtill more ſtriking, at a conſiderable depth from the preſent ſurface of the earth; nay, we even ſee a fourth circumſtance of agreement, in aſhes being found in none of the Vaſes, but always, as with us, in the ſtone Oſſuarii, as I ſometimes call them, for want of a better name; for *thoſe* we are told were ſquare boxes.

But it muſt be remarked, that it is only the ſimpleſt and rudeſt of the many Tombs and Vaſes delineated and deſcribed by the able Britiſh miniſter at Naples, which reſemble ours, and which both he and his learned friend M. d'Italenſky think by far the moſt antient, and belonging to the firſt coloniſts who emigrated to that part of Italy named by the antients Magna Grecia, while

while the arts were ſtill in their infancy in the mother country; and we might almoſt hazard a conjecture, from the ſingular affinity explained above in their ſepulchres, that the colony which ſettled at the mouth of the Dnieſter left Greece much about the ſame time with the Italian emigrants. We likewiſe ſee by the valuable Work of Andrew Burdon, profeſſor of the Royal French Academy of Painting, that the Antients occaſionally uſed the Amphora form in other parts of the world as both cinereous and lachrymal urns; of which he has given a number found in tombs exactly ſimilar; however, ours never could have been intended for cinereous urns, as no cinders were found in any of them, any more than in thoſe of Italy delineated by Sir William Hamilton, unleſs we could ſuppoſe that the cork[235] in the bottom of the Amphora has been decompoſed in ſuch a number of ages, and the aſhes returned to their mother earth. As to their ſerving as lachrymal urns, it would have been rather abſurd to ſelect the Amphora, which would hold the tears of ſeveral colonies united; ſo that the uſe of thoſe Vaſes I ſhall not take upon me to determine, or whether they may not have been ſuppoſed to contain wine, as victuals are placed on graves and tombs by ſome nations (ſee my "Ruſſian Antiquities," publiſhed in French at St. Peterſburg 1795), a remnant of antient ſuperſtition ſtill exiſting in our own days; but indeed the paſſport and piece of coin put into the hands of a corpſe even by ſome ſpecies of Chriſtians, ſhow, that material objects are ſtill ſuppoſed uſeful to departed ſpirits at the end of the 18th century.

I have now only to add a few words on the high antiquity and Grecian origin of the Euxine Tombs; both, in my opinion, very demonſtrable.

As to the general fact of the North ſhore of the Pontus Euxinus being once planted with Greek colonies, there cannot be a doubt, as all the antient hiſtorians and geographers, from Herodotus down to Ptolemy, ſpeak of them as ſettled at the mouths of all the great rivers running through Scythia into the Black Sea. I ſay, this fact could not be doubted, if it had not even been mentioned at the end of a Tour where the antient hiſtory, as well as modern deſcription, of moſt of thoſe cities are given, together with coins ſtruck in them with Greek inſcriptions, both Imperial and Autonomatic.

[235] The Antients employed cork, wax, and reſin, to ſhut their Vaſes, exactly as the Modern uſe theſe ſubſtances to cork bottles.

Now,

Now, as to my reaſon for thinking the Tombs diſcovered by General Wollant thoſe of the Greek colony of Tyras, they are as follow:

Firſt, there is ſtrong internal and external evidence, from the ſtile of the workmanſhip of the antiques found in them, that they are Grecian. Secondly, the ſtriking reſemblance of the Tombs themſelves, as well as the Vaſes, with thoſe ſuppoſed to have belonged to the firſt Greek colonies in Magna Grecia. And, thirdly, the Greek letters ſtill viſible on one of the Vaſes in the General's ſketch, which led me to ſuſpect them to be the Vaſa Samia from the famous pottery much in the courſe of veſſels coming from the Ionian colonies in Aſia Minor, which carried on a great commerce with the Euxine; and indeed the people of Milet, juſt by Samos, were the principal ſettlers on this coaſt. It is another curious coincidence, that Sir William Hamilton mentions Greek letters on ſome of the antique Vaſes found in the Tombs, which ſo much reſemble ours.—So much for theſe Tombs having belonged to the Greeks; and, as to the particular city which filled them with aſhes, &c. it muſt certainly have been that of Tyras; as the other two Greek cities on the Dnieſter, Ophiuſa and Niconia, are placed too high up the river, both by d'Anville and the Abbé Barthelemy, to have buried their dead at its mouth, where the larger town of Tyras ſtood till the time of the Romans; when Pliny the elder ſays it was moved to an iſland farther up, poſſibly for greater ſafety, or ſome unknown reaſon.

Thus, I preſume, there is only left for me to prove that the tombs and antiques treated of in this Memoir are as old as the exiſtence of the ſaid Grecian colony, which once ſtood on the ſpot where they were found; a taſk rendered not difficult by adverting to certain phenomena already hinted at in a curſory manner.

My Vaſe is incruſtated with calcined ſhells, not of the kind called *d'luvian* in natural hiſtory, which are often exotics, not found in the European ſeas, but with ſhells all natives of the Euxine, ſuch as Oſtrea, Mactray, Anomia, &c. It is evident then, that the Black Sea formerly roſe as high as the tombs, or it could not have depoſited its ſhells on my Vaſe; but now it is at the diſtance of ſeven verſts, or near five miles, from them. The Tombs likewiſe muſt have originally been placed near the ſurface of the earth to have received ſuch a depoſition on a Vaſe ſtanding on a level with them; but the General found them buried ten feet below it. Surely theſe two ſimple facts require little explanation to the learned, to ſhow the number of ages neceſſary for ſuch a retreat

retreat of the ſea, and ſuch an elevation of the ſurface; nay, even ſuppoſing that our tombs had been originally buried at the depth of four feet, as Sir William found thoſe of Italy, ſtill there is an accumulation of ſix feet.

As to the firſt phenomenon, or the number of years that the ſea requires to retreat to ſuch a diſtance, we have but few certain obſervations on record to judge from, except the port of Ravenna in Italy, conſtructed by Auguſtus for 250 veſſels of war, which is now at the diſtance of near four miles from the ſea. However, our fact confirms the aſſertions of a number of antient authors with regard to the gradual fall of the Euxine, and the theory of a celebrated modern naturaliſt, whom we venerate in this country (Dr. Pallas), who accounts for the formation of what he thinks a more modern horizontal ſtratum of earth on the South coaſt of the Taurida, mixed with Euxine ſhells, while thoſe of the other ſtrata are moſtly exotics, and inclined in a different direction, by the fall of the Euxine Sea.

As to the other phenomenon, or the time required for the formation of vegetable earth, from the gradual decompoſition of organic bodies, and the accumulation of duſt, &c. carried by the winds from one ſpot to another, I know of but one ſolitary inſtance from which we can form a conjecture, and even that not very applicable to the caſe in point.

The learned hiſtorian of the famous Mount Ætna in Sicily, the Abbé Roſcoupero, informs us, that the wide ſtratum of lava, erupted from the mountain in the ſecond punic war during the ſiege of Syracuſe, which ſtopped a Roman army on its march, and obliged them to make the tour of Ætna to arrive at their deſtination, has as yet acquired in 2000 years not ſufficient earth to grow either corn or vines, though certainly ſome fine aſhes muſt occaſionally be blown that way during volcanos, independent of the decompoſition of the lava in ſuch a lapſe of time, and the accumulation of duſt, ſeeds, leaves, &c. the ſport of the winds in all countries. The ſame port of Ravenna, cited above, would ſhow, however, a much more prompt example of the accumulation of ſoil; as we are told, that, ſo early as the ſixth century, vines grew where the fleet of Auguſtus rode five centuries before; but as that port was filled up with matter carried in by the ſea and wind, no calculation can be made from ſuch a caſe; and I ſuſpect that the ſame cauſes may have operated for a time at leaſt on our Tombs, or it would be otherwiſe impoſſible to account for ſo uncommon an increaſe of ſurface, which I preſume is without ex-

ample. The concluſion that I would draw from theſe phenomena is, that although, for the reaſons given above, we cannot form any thing like an accurate idea of the number of ages that our Tombs and other antiques have lain where the General found them, ſtill we may venture to conjecture that they are at leaſt as old as when the Greeks inhabited the city of Tyras, before Pompey conquered Mithridates Eupator, who then poſſeſſed the Taurida and adjacent countries, and of courſe was forced to cede them with his life to the victorious Romans, as related in the TOUR.

N°. VII.

DESCRIPTION

Of a curious EGYPTIAN ANTIQUE; in the Collection of DR. MATTHEW GUTHRIE, of ST. PETERSBURG.

THIS curious Antique (ſee PLATE III. fig. 1.) was given me by General de Korſakoff, of the Artillery, well known in Ruſſia for his taſte and collections in the fine Arts and Natural Hiſtory. I underſtood, when I firſt made the valuable acquiſition, that it had been received from the ſhores of the Euxine; but, on renewing the queſtion, his Excellency told me, that he had led me into an error; for, on conſulting afterwards the catalogue of his cabinet, he had found the Antique given me noted there as brought from Egypt, with a Mummy formerly in his poſſeſſion, and that the miſtake had ariſen from a wrong number being put on it, which referred to another object.

Before this explanation, however, I had ſet it down as Egyptian in a Memoir to the Antiquarian Society of London, from the well-known ſtiff ſtile of Egyptian ſculpture, never aiming at elegance, but always at durability, by ſeldom riſking the loſs of a detached member, either concealed, or only ſhown in relief on the ſolid block; which gives their ſtatues in general the aukward ſtiff form and appearance of their mummies, of which the very object that I am deſcribing is an excellent example.

But there are other cogent reaſons which ſerve to determine the country of my Antique; ſuch as its being cut into the well-known oblong form of the ſacred Scarabæus, an inſect worſhipped in Egypt; for which reaſon they took its form for the ſtones on which they engraved their amulets, whether intended to be hung round the neck, uſed as a ſeal (before the uſe of the chirograph, or ſeal ring), or interred with the dead; in all theſe caſes the beetle-formed ſtones or amulets were conſtantly covered with engraved objects which had a connection with their religion. For example, the Agathodemon, or good demon, in form of a ſerpent, was a favourite object on their ſepulchral amulets; as was their goddeſs Iſis in her character of Averſunca, or protectreſs againſt the bad demon; and therefore often found in what the Engliſh call mummy pits, as a guardian of the embalmed bodies depoſited in theſe catacombs. I ſhall likewiſe remark, in paſſing, as it is not directly connected with my Antique, that ſmall figures of Oſiris of baked clay, in matter and form much reſembling the laſt-mentioned guardian of the dead, are likewiſe often found in the Egyptian catacombs interred with the mummies.

The Scarabæus in my poſſeſſion, from its ſuperior ſize to the neck amulet and ſeal, I ſhould ſuppoſe may rather have been employed as an *ex voto* in ſome temple (likewiſe a uſe to which theſe ſacred ſtones were put); or, what is ſtill more probable, it may have been found buried with the mummy that it accompanied to Europe, now in the Imperial muſeum of this city.

It appears to me to repreſent a Prieſt of the Nile for the following reaſons:

Firſt, from the figure being cut on a ſtone in the form of the ſacred inſect.

Secondly, from the upper part of his face being covered with his black mantle; to indicate that the ſource of the river was hid from its adorers, and even its prieſts.

Thirdly, from his white garb terminating in the mouth of a crocodile; an amphibious animal, ſo common and dreaded in the Nile, as to render the ichneumon, or rat of Pharo, an object of worſhip, for its deſtroying the eggs of that voracious and dangerous monſter. The jaws of the crocodile I therefore ſuppoſe were placed where they are, to indicate the connection of the figure with the Nile; and indeed none of its emblems are ſo well under-

ſtood, though we ſee the Sphinx[236], Lotus[237], Ibis[238], and Sixteen Children[239], occaſionally uſed as ſuch, either ſingly or two or three together, to diſtinguiſh the perſonification of the Nile from other river gods, ſuch as the Tiber, Tigris, Rhine, Euphrates, and Danube; all repreſented in human forms by the Antients, and characteriſed by their peculiar attributes.

There are two objections which may be made by Antiquaries againſt my Antique repreſenting an Egyptian prieſt; but I flatter myſelf that they will be removed by the following obſervations:

The firſt is, that the prieſts of that country in general wore the plant *Perſea* tied to their chin in lieu of their natural beard; but, as that vegetable was ſacred to Oſiris, it was moſt probably only indiſpenſable to his own peculiar prieſts, and not abſolutely neceſſary to all thoſe of the other gods, of which we have a proof in thoſe of Horus wearing the lotus on their heads as a diſtinguiſhing mark.

But I ſhould think that the dreſs of the prieſts of the Nile muſt have been regulated by the coſtume of the god himſelf, who is repreſented in the fine ſtatue of the Nile in the Belvidera as a venerable man, with a buſhy beard, leaning on a ſphinx and a crocodile, ſurrounded by ſixteen children, all of which are explained in the preceding Note; the only attribute that he has in common with other river gods is, a cornucopiæ; and, although that emblem of plenty is certainly applicable to every one of them in ſome degree, as the ſources of abundance in all hot climates, ſtill the Nile, above all others, has a ſuperlative claim to the horn of plenty, as it alone fertilizes the ſandy fields of Egypt, which would be a deſert without its annual inundations; while few other countries depend for food on a ſingle ſtream. It would therefore appear,

[236] The Sphinx was uſed as an emblem of the Nile, from its allegoric compoſition of *Leo* and *Virgo*, the ſigns of the zodiac in which the ſun (worſhipped in Egypt under the name of *Horus*) is during the inundation of the river.

[237] The Lotus was another emblem of the Nile, as a plant ſacred to Horus, from being obſerved to riſe with the ſun above the ſurface of that river, and again return to its watery abode when the ſun ſet in the evening.

[238] The Ibis was a third emblem of the Nile, as a bird worſhipped, or held ſacred for deſtroying the numerous ſerpents hatched in the mud left by the inundations of that river.

[239] The Sixteen Children were a fourth emblem; as by that allegory the Egyptians indicated the ſixteen cubits which the Nile roſe above its ordinary level in the moſt plentiful and happy years for agriculture.

The fifth emblem I have already mentioned (the voracious Crocodile); and theſe were all employed on different relicks of antiquity to characteriſe the Nile.

that,

that, the Nile being repreſented with a buſhy beard, it was the moſt natural dreſs for its prieſts, who would be out of character with the Perſea of Oſiris hanging at their chins, to confound them with the miniſters of that deity; and of courſe the natural beard of my antique can be no objection to its repreſenting a prieſt of the Nile, or indeed the river god himſelf, as Mr. Bell, in his "New Pantheon," (to whom we are obliged for a number of valuable plates, and among the reſt the Belvidera ſtatue, with all the other rivers mentioned above,) ſays, he has ſeen a ſtatue of the Nile, with his mantle drawn half over his face [240], like the figure under deſcription.

There is likewiſe an objection which may be made againſt the antiquity of my Scarabæus, drawn from certain characters engraven on the back of the mantle, regarded by ſome as much more modern than the epoch of genuine Egyptian ſculpture; but I think even this apparently ſtrong objection muſt loſe its force, when we know that the Abraxas in the different cabinets of Europe are nothing elſe than Egyptian Scarabæi, diſfigured and ſcribbled on in various characters, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Greek, &c. &c. by the Baſilidians or Gnoſtic Chriſtians of Egypt, to convert them into *teſſeræ hoſpitalitatis* by marks and ſigns only known among themſelves; as with ſuch a token in their pockets they could travel through all Egypt, ever ſure of finding a hoſpitable reception from the whole brotherhood. Now if we allow the truth of this aſſertion by the learned antiquary Count Caylus, to whoſe reſearches the world owes ſo much, the characters on the mantle of this figure ſhould not militate againſt the antiquity of my Scarabæus, though they may have been placed there many centuries after its fabrication; as they may have no kind of connection with the original, and may merely be a mark of poſſeſſion, like a man's name on his book in Europe, if not a Gnoſtic paſs-word, if ever my Scarabæus ſerved for a *teſſera hoſpitalitatis* in the Eaſt; all as unknown to me as the language, which, by the by, is only *ſuſpected* to be modern; for no one here underſtands it.

P. S. I forgot to mention a collateral proof of my Scarabæus being Egyptian, in the ſtone being of that country, and of that ſpecies called by the Antients Lapis Heraclianus; poſſibly from the place where it was firſt found, like the Labradore, though brought from Siberia. Count Caylus found ſome varieties of the Lapis Heraclianus which effervefced with acids like mine.

[240] See his Article "Nile," page 104.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 122, line 6, from bottom, for *Auſtria*, read *Aſturias*.
161, line 6, from bottom, for *both ſons of Leucon*, read *ſon and grandſon of Leucon*.
193, line 5, for *Starvi*, read *Staroi*.
205, line 14, for *Shuralow*, read *Shuwaloff*.
291, line 19, for *Belingo*, read *Belugo*.
300, line 19, for *oils*, read *oil*.
318, line 2, of the note, for *Tmutaracan*, read *Tamaracan*.
329, line 1, of the note, for *ſhips*, read *ſhip*.
360, line 15, for *Trojan*, read *Trajan*.
375, line 9, from bottom, for *er*, read *on*.
402, line 1, for *Tomb*, read *Tome*.

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